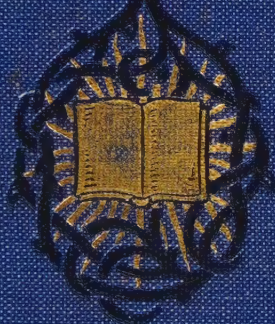


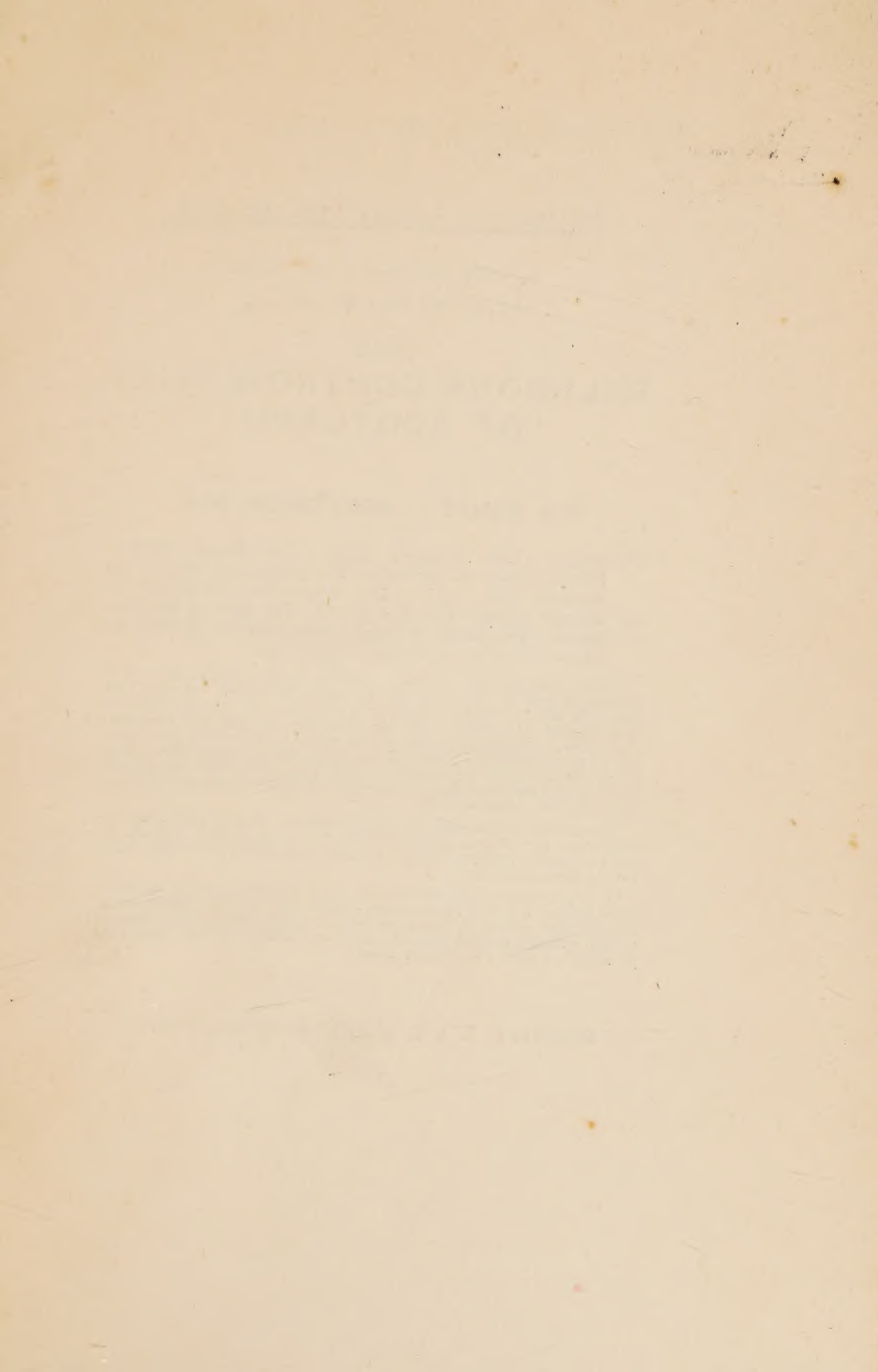
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THE NEW REFORMATION

JOHN A. BAIN



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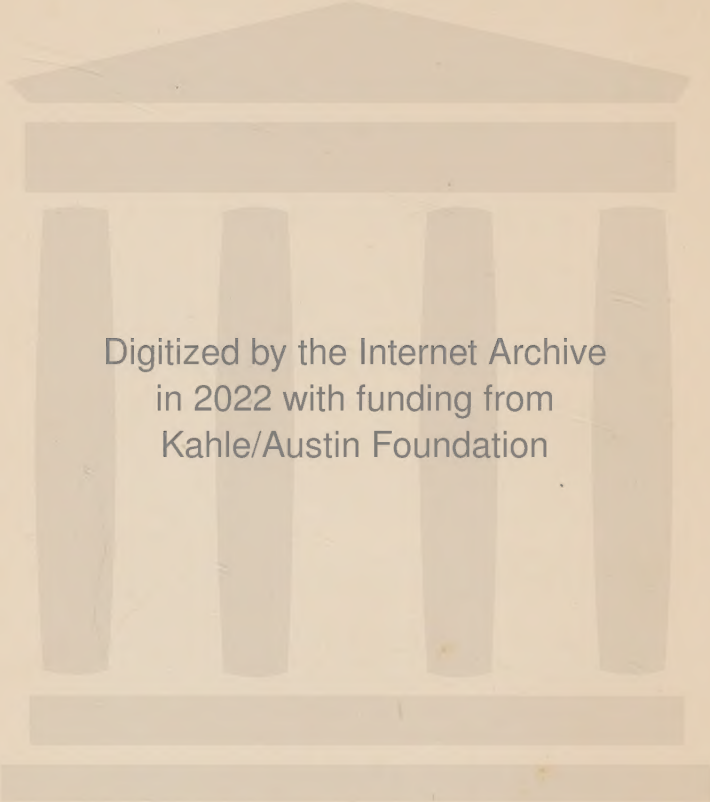
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RELIGION IN LITERATURE AND LIFE

THE NEW REFORMATION

RECENT EVANGELICAL MOVEMENTS
IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY

JOHN A. BAIN, M.A.

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET

1906

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THE NEW REFORMATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

IN his brilliant essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*, Macaulay has drawn attention to the way in which the Reformation was arrested in its progress, and even rolled back from some of the territory it had conquered. He has endeavoured to analyse the causes that contributed to this result, and has shown that Protestantism has never been able to regain any of the ground it lost during the Counter-Reformation. It may be questioned whether he has exhausted the causes that led to the impotence of Protestantism to extend its bounds after its advance had been checked. But there can be no doubt as to the fact. Nations under the sway of the Papacy have more than once become infidel, and in the recoil from infidelity have returned to their loyalty to the old faith, but they have shown no inclination or desire to turn for light to the faith of the Reformers. Nothing seemed more certain than that a Roman Catholic, if he lost his faith in Rome, would become an

infidel ; and that if his faith revived he would go back to Rome, with all her gorgeous ceremonial, her degrading superstitions, her galling tyranny. The result was that no missions were carried on as a rule more languidly than those to Roman Catholics, and none seemed so hopeless of success.

The obstacles to such mission work were not removed till recent years. In most Roman Catholic countries the first breach in the ramparts of religious tyranny was made by the great revolutionary wave that swept over Europe in 1848, and for many years later it was practically impossible for Protestants to gain a foothold anywhere in a country ruled by a Roman Catholic sovereign. As late as fifty years ago men and women were imprisoned for years, in Italy, for reading the Bible. In Spain there was no religious liberty till 1868, and it has been far from complete since then. But during the last thirty or forty years the change in this condition of things has been enormous, and now the Gospel can be preached with comparative freedom all over Europe, and the fruit of the preaching has begun to show itself during the past few years to a degree to which we have no parallel since the time of the Reformation. To understand this change in the spirit and condition of Europe, and in its attitude to Romanism and Protestantism, it is necessary to consider the great influences that have been producing it, and the relation of Rome to them.

The universal craving for liberty that found vent in the French Revolution was driven under the surface by the reaction that followed that terrible upheaval. But it could not be permanently kept under, and in most

European countries the history of the nineteenth century is the history of the struggles of the masses to win their fundamental human liberties. But as soon as men have put their hands to the task of working out their freedom, they have learned the bitter truth that Rome is the most relentless foe of human freedom the world has ever seen.

The commercial progress of recent years has been one of the most remarkable developments of modern times. Commercial activity has always tended to broaden men's thoughts by bringing them into close contact with men of other views and faiths. In the race for commercial supremacy the prizes have gone to the great Protestant nations, England, Germany, and America, while nations like Portugal, Spain, and Italy, in whose hands the trade of the world once lay, have fallen hopelessly behind. These nations are now asking themselves why they should have lost their former position in the van of the world's trade, and many are discovering that Rome has been sapping the vigour of these nations, and withering the energies that would have given them success.

Very remarkable, too, has been the wave of intense nationalism that has in recent years been sweeping over almost every country, heathen as well as Christian, all the world over. Some of the manifestations of this national spirit are very regrettable, but in the main the deepening of the national consciousness has been praiseworthy, and has called forth some of the finest qualities of each people that has been touched by it. But no nation has had its national consciousness awakened and its national emotions quickened without discovering

sooner or later that Rome is the deadliest foe of a true nationalism. Her very claim to universal dominion compels her to suppress all national aspirations, though she may sometimes encourage them for a while when it seems to suit her purpose. In France to-day they have been learning this, and there is a widespread agitation, which has touched many both of the higher and the lower clergy, for the breaking off of the allegiance of the French Church to Rome, and the establishment of a national Church, with wider freedom than that once secured by the old Gallican Liberties. In Spain there is a similar movement, in Barcelona and the north-east, for a time under the leadership of an able priest, Sigismundo Pey Ordeix, who agitated for the establishment of a national Church. This feeling has also given birth to the very remarkable movement in Austria, which is now attracting universal attention, the "Los von Rom" Movement. In Italy the same feeling is widespread, that the Church is the great foe of national unity and national greatness, and loyalty to king and country is never found associated with loyalty to the Church. Even in Ireland, where the power of Rome is stronger than in almost any other country, there are signs that some of the more intelligent Roman Catholics are waking to a knowledge of the evil influences of Rome, and are beginning to see that Rome is hostile to the truest interests of the country, and that to put the country at the feet of the Roman priesthood would be a disaster of appalling magnitude.

It may be said that these are mainly secular, temporal, worldly factors, and can have no direct influence on the religious life of the nations. But a

moment's consideration will show their close connection with religious movements. Man is a personal unit, and in the long run he moves up or down as a personal unit. All his real interests are ultimately linked together. England's civil liberties, her commercial progress, her national greatness, have always been more or less intimately bound up with great religious revivals—with the coming of the friars in the Middle Ages, with the Reformation, with the Puritan revival, with the Methodist revival, with the religious awakening of the last half-century—and it must be the same in other countries. The same Spirit that moved on the face of the waters and brought forth life is to-day moving over the face of the nations and quickening them with new hopes, new longings for freedom, new energies calling for exercise, new cravings after God, and it will be impossible to suppress this divine activity. That there is a great spiritual awakening going on all over the world can scarcely be doubted. In the pages that follow attention will be drawn to the evidence of it presented to us in Roman Catholic countries in the religious movements to which careful observers have given the name of the *New Reformation*. It can be seen also in Protestant countries in a growing dissatisfaction with formalism, in a new sense of responsibility for the neglected and lapsed, in a new desire to apply the teachings of Christ to social life, in a revival of evangelical teaching where it seemed to be dying, in the growth of such movements as the Inner Mission of Denmark, the Free Mission in Sweden and Norway, the Gemeinschaft Bewegung of Germany, in the new life that has flowed into the small Protestant com-

munities of Roman Catholic countries. It can be seen in the field of missions to the heathen in the rich ingatherings of converts that have in recent years often taxed to the utmost the powers of the mission staff to cope with them.

CHAPTER II

LEO TAXIL¹

So far as I am aware, the Frenchman who wrote for several years under the *nom de plume* of "Leo Taxil," and the events that are associated with his name, are practically unknown in England. But no account of the recent religious movements in France and Austria would be satisfactory that did not take notice of the influence he has exercised in shaking the faith of many in an "infallible" Church, and stirring up many to make efforts for its reform.

Gabriel Jogand was born at Marseilles in a strict Roman Catholic family, and carefully educated by the Jesuits. The effect of their training, however, was to fill him with bitter and relentless hatred of his teachers and of the Papacy. In the early eighties he came into notoriety as one of the coarsest and most violent opponents of the Roman Catholic Church in France. The immorality of the priesthood was his favourite topic, and under the *nom de plume* of "Leo Taxil" he had published a book called *Les Amours secrètes de Pie IX.*

¹ See Braeunlich, *Der neueste Teufelsschwindel (Leo Taxil's) in der römisch-katholischen Kirche*, 1897; also his *Leo Taxil: Ein Miniaturbild aus dem grossen Verzweigungskampfe der römischen Priesterherrschaft um ihren Bestand*, 1899; and *Revue Chrétienne*, July 1897, article by V. Charbonnel, "Superstitieux et mystifiés."

A library of filthy anti-clerical literature poured forth for years from his pen.

Suddenly, in the month of April 1885, it was announced that Leo Taxil, the arch-enemy of the Church, was converted, and the report of this marvellous triumph of divine grace was proclaimed throughout the whole Church. He went into retreat with the Jesuits. He confessed all sorts of sins, even a murder. Having satisfied them of the genuineness of his conversion, he began to use his pen as actively in the service of the Church as he had done against it.

The pet aversion of Pius ix. and Leo xiii. was freemasonry. Both issued encyclicals denouncing it as the synagogue and the kingdom of Satan, and exhausting their extensive vocabulary of vituperation in proclaiming its alleged villainies. Following the lead of his new teachers, Leo Taxil now plunged into a campaign against the hated freemasons, and in doing so kept dipping his pen in the same kind of filth as before his conversion, and obtained multitudes of eager readers. He found an unlimited capacity for swallowing filth and absurdity among those to whom his books appealed. When the necessity arose for providing something new to whet the appetite of his readers, he found an apt collaborator in a Dr. Hacks, who as physician on board steamers had travelled in many parts of the world. This traveller provided him with his diaries, and assisted him in inventing new tales of the marvels he had seen. He appears in Taxil's next book as Dr. Bataille, who in his travels had made a study of freemasonry, had himself become a freemason, and had been initiated into all the secrets of that hated society. The first result of

this collaboration was a book with the title, *Le Diable au XIXe siècle, par le Dr. Bataille*.

After a time the public were fascinated by still more exciting revelations of the appalling wickedness of the freemasons. Another assistant is called into the conspiracy. Leo Taxil had in the course of his literary work become acquainted with and had employed an unusually capable stenographer and typewriter, who is known to us in his works as Miss Diana Vaughan, a girl of American origin. He saw that she could help him, and she seems to have entered *con amore* into his schemes. In his next book, *Les Mémoires d'une ex-Palladiste, parfaite initiée indépendante, par Miss Diana Vaughan*, the heroine is this Miss Diana Vaughan, who professes to have been led by the devil into becoming a freemason sister, to have been initiated into all the criminal secrets of the masonic order, to have taken part in the crimes committed by them in their most secret conclaves, and to have been saved at last by divine grace from the clutches of the evil one and his instruments, the masons ; and now she has given herself to expose these wickednesses and save others from the pit into which she had fallen. And certainly her revelations are not wanting in the marvellous, the grotesque, and the criminal. The mysterious part ascribed to the devil, as the inspirer and active accomplice of the freemasons, is the principal means employed in attracting and interesting the reader. Lucifer is the supreme master of the lodges. Under the name of the Great Architect of the Universe, it is he, Satan, whom they honour. The devil Baphomet frequently presided at masonic meetings, and on days of banquets

he sat at a place reserved for him at the head of the table. Taxil gives us the special rites and prayers of this worship of the freemasons, which he calls Palladism, or Luciferianism, the diabolical, infernal religion, in which Lucifer, or Satan, takes the place of God, and is honoured and adored as God. The masonic lodges, and especially those of America, were the temples of this cult, and select magi and templar mistresses were the pontiffs of it. In describing the horrors and the follies alleged to be associated with these rites, Taxil went on with growing effrontery, till he seemed to have gone beyond what any tolerable confidence in human imbecility would allow. But he was not disappointed in his confidence. "My collaborators," he tells us, "used to take pleasure in inventing the most improbable stories. They used to make fun of the public for which they were writing. 'What shall we put before the good folk in our next instalment?' they would say day by day. I have been present at the sketching of 'historical fictions' when the inventor literally held his sides for laughter. He would say, laughing, 'It is all right : human stupidity is limitless.'"

The town of Charleston, in the United States, was a centre of Palladism. A certain Albert Pike, a Scotch freemason, was the founder of Palladism and the first luciferian pope—that is, head of all the freemasons of the world. This exalted personage had a secret interview with Lucifer every Friday afternoon at three o'clock. At Charleston there is a masonic temple, with a labyrinth, in the centre of which there is a chapel of Lucifer. This chapel is triangular, and is called the Sanctum Regnum. Here the higher masons prostrate themselves

before a statue of Baphomet. In another hall the masonic sisters, or templar mistresses, meet and render an indescribable worship to Astarte. At Gibraltar, under the English fortress, in a whirlpool where the waters of the sea and the fires of hell meet, is the forge in which the various instruments needed for Palladistic rites are manufactured, and it is said that good free-masons make pilgrimages to Gibraltar to see this famous infernal cave.

Crispi, the great adversary of the pope, was specially favoured with diabolic inspirations. A demon named Haborym was his particular protector and master. In one of his books, *Le 33e .°. Crispi, par Diana Vaughan*, Taxil relates the ceremonies by which Crispi was initiated as an elect Magus. This same book introduces the history of a Sophie Walder, which is a strain on the boundless credulity of even Taxil's dupes. She is betrothed to a devil named Bitru, who entwines himself round her in the form of a serpent, and with his tail writes prophecies on her back.

The strangest part in the story is not the invention of these grotesque fictions, but the greediness with which they were accepted and devoured by the Roman Catholics of the Continent. Some of these books reached a couple of thousand pages, and were sold for a pound or upwards; and yet they circulated in numberless editions. And this eager acceptance was not found alone among the ignorant, from whom nothing better might perhaps be expected. But they were read enthusiastically by the priesthood of France. They were also translated into German, and had in Germany and Austria almost as wide a constituency as in the land of

their birth. The Roman Catholic press hailed each new attempt on the credulity of the people with unbounded admiration, and commended these books to their readers as proving the iniquities of the freemasons, and justifying the anxiety of the Church to preserve the faithful from this instrument of the devil. The famous Jesuit organ, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, in September 1896, when this literature had been appearing for over eleven years, speaks as follows: "We wish to give ourselves the pleasure of blessing publicly at least once the names of the valiant champions who have entered first into the glorious arena, among them the noble Miss Diana Vaughan. Miss Diana Vaughan, called from the depth of darkness to the light of God, prepared by divine Providence, armed by knowledge and personal experience, turns to the Church to serve it, and appears inexhaustible in her precious publications, which have not their equals in accuracy and usefulness."

In all the French parish libraries "l'Œuvre de Saint-François de Sales" provided the adventures of Dr. Bataille and Miss Diana Vaughan as suitable instruction for pious readers. One bishop went to Leo Taxil for instruction for a book he was writing on *Freemasonry the Synagogue of Satan*. Bishop Fava of Grenoble became a great admirer of Taxil, and certified the truth of his stories to doubters. Cardinal Parocchi, Cardinal-Vicar, who was often spoken of as a possible successor to Leo XIII., was the most important of the dupes of the wily Frenchman. In 1895 he wrote a letter to Miss Diana Vaughan expressing his interest in her work, and saying that her conversion was one of the most magnificent triumphs of grace that he knew, and promising

her his prayers at the Holy Sacrifice. And a year later his secretary wrote to her to continue her battle against the enemy of the world. Leo Taxil was accorded a private interview with the Pope, and received the pontifical blessing.

At last suspicions concerning the good faith of the alleged revelations began to be expressed. And though the devout and the credulous rejected these indignantly, they could not be suppressed. Then Leo Taxil set the question at rest himself. On the 19th April, 1897, he brought together in the hall of the Geographical Society in Paris, by personal invitation, about three hundred persons—priests, monks, nuns, Catholics, and freemasons. Then Taxil addressed them: "Reverend Fathers, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I have been mystifying the Catholics. The Palladism of Miss Diana Vaughan was merely an invention of mine. I am satisfied. I have carried on as far as possible the greatest mystification of the century. I thank most sincerely the Catholics, the good Fathers, and our Lord Bishops, who have helped me in it so effectively."

There were still some who were unwilling to believe that they had been befooled, and said the freemasons had bribed him to say the stories were invented.

The whole incident came as a shock to serious-minded Roman Catholics. That the Church they had been taught to revere as infallible could be led by the nose for twelve years by a coarse-minded, cunning journalist, who had exploited the craze of the Vatican against the freemasons for his own purposes, shattered the faith of many. A couple of months afterwards, an able and prominent French priest, Victor Charbonnel, wrote an

account of the Taxil affair in the *Revue Chrétienne*, a Protestant theological magazine, and soon after seceded from the Roman Catholic Church, and became one of the leaders of the revolt of the French priesthood. Another priest, who was one of Taxil's most unquestioning believers, has since done the same. The affair has also intensified the desire of many inside the Church of Rome to try and effect some reform that will make the Church less the dupe of superstition and mystification. No one can read the pleas for reform of such men as Schell and Ehrhard without seeing the bitterness with which they look back on the incidents associated with the name of Leo Taxil and Diana Vaughan. They see that the trend of recent movements inside the Roman Church has been to encourage the state of mind which made possible the credulity of those who swallowed eagerly and without question or misgiving the ludicrous inventions of Taxil and his friends. It has enabled many to see, better than formal arguments could ever have done, the groundlessness of the pretensions of the Roman Church to infallibility. What is the use of an infallibility that was deceived for twelve years by what could not deceive for a moment anyone who was not judicially blind?

CHAPTER III

CAN THE CHURCH OF ROME BE REFORMED?

THE events recorded in the last chapter awakened intelligent Roman Catholics in the most startling manner to the state of superstition and credulity into which their Church had fallen, and stirred them up to efforts to reform the Church, so that such a series of shameless deceptions should not be perpetrated on them again.

The need of reform was also brought home to them in another way. Roman Catholics began to perceive that they were being outdistanced in every walk of life by their Protestant competitors. Even Roman Catholic papers on the Continent began in the course of the year 1896 to state the facts of this Roman Catholic inferiority in the plainest language. In that year *Die Neuesten Nachrichten* of Munich said: ¹—

“The Catholics in spite of all declamation will with mathematical certainty be gradually crushed out of the most important and influential positions in the intellectual and industrial life of the nation. They will first be impoverished, and in consequence of this impoverishment they will be less and less in the position to send their children to the higher schools. The already

¹ Quoted in Schell: *Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts*, Siebente Auflage (1899), p. 6.

existent unsatisfactory circumstances will become still worse, and at last no warning will be of use any longer, for the means will be wanting to give effect to it."

The scientific inferiority of Roman Catholics, Schell acknowledges in citing this passage, is not denied by themselves. And he goes on to show that in Roman Catholic German-speaking countries, in France, and in Hungary, a disproportionate number of Protestants occupy leading positions.

This intellectual inferiority, coming home to them as it did at the same time as the proof of the gross superstition and credulity of their co-religionists, compelled intelligent Roman Catholics to ask themselves what could be done to rectify this state of things. In almost all cases the would-be reformers have come to see, in the growing spirit of ultramontaniam that centralisation of all ecclesiastical authority in the Roman Curia, and the growing arrogance of the priesthood in its relations with the laity, the secret of the evils under which the Church is labouring. Pleas for reform have appeared in almost every Roman Catholic country and every branch of the Roman Catholic Church. But on the Continent the men who have attracted most prominent attention by their pleas for the reformation of their Church, in view of the evils that have crept into it, and the disasters that evidently await it, are Schell, Ehrhard, and Wahrmond. To these I propose to refer briefly in this chapter.

Dr. Herman Schell is Professor of Apologetics and of the Science of Comparative Religion in the University of Würzburg, in Bavaria. He felt keenly the shame of the Leo Taxil affair, and of the scientific and commercial

inferiority of the Roman Catholic nations and of the Roman Catholic elements in mixed nations, which Protestant controversialists had dwelt on as proving that Romanism led to national deterioration. Accordingly, he published his *Catholicism the Principle of Progress* for the purpose of controverting the Protestants, and at the same time pointing out to Roman Catholics what is necessary if they are to maintain their place as a power in the uplifting of the nations. Throughout the book he speaks from the standpoint of a devout Roman Catholic who accepts all the doctrines of his Church. The value of the book arises from the concessions he makes with regard to the present state of the Church of Rome, and the firmness with which he lays the blame of its decay at the door of the Jesuits, and the ultramontaniam of which the Jesuits are the principal champions.

He frankly concedes the alleged intellectual inferiority, and quotes figures to show that the higher schools are frequented by Protestants in far larger proportions than by Roman Catholics. He quotes with approval the statement of Dr. Braun that worse than inferiority is the disintegration of Roman Catholic education by Protestant ideas, and shows that educated Roman Catholics are making their influence felt on behalf of Protestantism rather than on behalf of Catholicism. He protests against the isolation of Roman Catholics from others in the educational world. "Whoever seeks and needs isolation has sunk into a condition of inferiority: no distinction can save him from it."¹

¹ *Katholicismus der Princip des Fortschritts*, Siebente Auflage, p. 29.

In the chapter on "Freedom of Thought and Ecclesiastical Authority" he attempts the hopeless task of reconciling papal authority with mental freedom. Here the concessions he makes are the most interesting and important part of the chapter. "The spirit is spirit, not mechanism, and is therefore more effectively bound and won by freedom than by continual tutelage, even if it is tutelage with the best intentions." "Thorough thinking is free thinking." In his chapter on "The Ideal of Catholicism" he returns to the same thought. "The externally anxious treatment of religion weakens unintentionally its spirit, by gradually depriving it of its divine attributes. That is worldly which does not trust the inward power of truth possessed by ideas, and therefore wishes to protect or restrain it by external guardianship. This external guardianship only cripples spiritual power. Primitive Christianity ventured into the world of classic ideas without such protection against spiritual infection, determined to appropriate from it whatever in it was valuable for the doctrine of revelation, and thus made a way for itself into the convictions of the antique mind. So in spite of the powerful, brilliant, and seductive literature that opposed it, it conquered the antique world. He who wants to press forward in spiritual conquest must not shut himself up anxiously and carefully, and fear to come into spiritual contact with the enemy." And then he proceeds to plead for that spirit of freedom within the pale of the Roman Church which has asserted itself so powerfully in America, and has come to be known as "Americanism."

Schell shows, too, that the desire to realise the

national spirit, which was one of the contributing causes of the sixteenth-century Reformation, and which has recently asserted itself as one of the factors in bringing about the Austrian "Los von Rom" Movement, is not without its influence on his mind, by making a timid suggestion that the German language should be recognised in the services of the Church, and holds that to do so would no more endanger the spiritual unity of the Church than the recognition of Greek in those Eastern Churches which are in fellowship with Rome.

He then devotes a chapter to a reproduction of the nine causes enumerated by Cardinal Manning as hindering the progress of the Roman Catholic Church in England. These are:—1. The want of scientific and civil education on the part of the clergy. 2. The shallowness of their preaching. 3. Suppressing the use of the Scriptures. 4. The absence of practical philanthropy in the Roman Catholic Church. 5. Sacramentalism. 6. Officialism. 7. Controversy. 8. Emphasising of points of difference. 9. The Jesuits.

It is when we come to consider the cure Schell proposes for these evils that the inherent weakness of his position is apparent. He has four remedies.

1. The appreciation of the Catholic laity that is required by the ideal of the universal priesthood. But it requires only a slight acquaintance with the history of Romanism to know it has no real belief in the universal priesthood of believers, that its whole history has been a progressive undermining of that fundamental doctrine of Christianity, and that to assert the universal

priesthood of believers in any real sense would utterly destroy Romanism as it at present exists.

2. The freer development of theological science. But a free development of theology in the Roman Church is an impossibility. Theology is not a science in that Church. It is a body of dogmas delivered to the faithful by the infallible Church and its infallible head, to be accepted by them on pain of eternal damnation. Under such conditions there can be no development of theological science. And the infallibility of the Church and of the Pope, and the duty of unquestioning obedience on the part of the members of the Church, is a fundamental doctrine of Romanism.

3. That Catholics should endeavour to take the foremost place in science, culture, and political life. But Schell has already shown that Catholicism has crushed its adherents more and more into the rear in the intellectual life of Europe, and he has not shown what new force is to be introduced which will give Catholics the intellectual power that will enable them to reconquer their lost position.

4. Greater co-operation in national development. But Roman Catholicism is irreconcilable with national independence and national development. The Bull *Unam Sanctam*, promulgated in the year 1302, the six hundredth anniversary of which was celebrated with great enthusiasm in some parts of the Roman Catholic world, is still the law of the Roman Church, and it asserts in the most uncompromising terms the absolute power of the Pope over all earthly rulers, and his power to set aside all their acts and enactments. So long as this remains, Romanism and

nationalism are inherently irreconcilable. And when the Bull *Unam Sanctam* is repudiated, Romanism as we have known it for the past eight hundred years will have to be repudiated too.

Schell soon learned the extent to which freedom and reform were possible in the Church to which he professes such devotion. His book, with its mild criticisms and its milder suggestions of reform, was speedily put on the Index of prohibited books. He himself showed that he is not of the stuff of which reformers and martyrs are made. He submitted meekly to the decree of the Vatican, and withdrew his book from circulation.

The next important plea for reform in the Roman Catholic Church which has come from the bosom of that Church itself is *Catholicism and the Twentieth Century in the Light of the Ecclesiastical Development of Modern Times*, by Dr. Albert Ehrhard, a Roman Catholic theological professor in the University of Vienna. Ehrhard's work¹ is more comprehensive in its survey of the history of the Roman Catholic Church, more incisive in its criticism, and more interesting in its style than Schell's.

He begins his book with the statement that the Church of which he is a member has, in its relations with the modern world, to face and recognise three great phenomena:²—1. "A widespread and earnest conviction that Catholicism is the enemy of modern culture, hinders its progress, and is to blame for

¹ Dr. Albert Ehrhard: *Der Katholicismus und das zwangigste Jahrhundert im Licht der kirchlichen Entwicklung der Neuzeit*, 9-12. vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, 1902.

² Pp. 3-14.

modern culture not having produced more speedy and fruitful results, or having been able to spread its blessings in greater measure and in a wider sphere over mankind." 2. "The second phenomenon is more important still, namely, the growing estrangement of the educated circles from the Catholic Church even in Catholic countries and states. Let us not abandon ourselves here to any delusion, for it would be self-deception. Large circles, who according to their birth, their baptismal certificates, and their early education, belong to the Catholic Church, have ceased to honour and love the Catholic Church as their spiritual mother, to have any real sympathy with her life, to seek her blessings, or to observe her precepts. And these circles are just those which, by their education, their influence, their wealth, and their position, claim the leading place in political and social life. This is the case, of course in varying degrees, in France, in Italy, in Spain, and not least in Austria, where an active religious, ecclesiastical, and at the same time national political movement surges more and more, fans the flame of hatred against everything Catholic more openly and passionately, and endeavours to stamp Rome as the greatest enemy of Austria with a persistency worthy of a better cause." 3. "In addition to these there is a third phenomenon, which perhaps demands still more consideration than the two already named: discontent with a series of existent ecclesiastical relations, which shows itself in various ways, in theological pamphlets, in political letters dealing with ecclesiastical subjects, in books and societies for Church reform, in separatist or national movements and struggles everywhere, in

Germany, America, France, latterly also in Italy and Spain, in certain circles which are fundamentally Catholic, and wish to remain Catholic. This discontent sometimes flares up openly, sometimes glimmers like fire under ashes. It is partly awakened by personal mortifications and disappointments, but it is also nourished by the noblest motives and the highest ideals, and is filled with a genuine Church spirit."

From these words we see that Ehrhard does not underestimate the seriousness of the position in which the Church of Rome is placed in the modern world. He then proceeds to give us an interesting survey of the history of the Papacy, through which it is impossible here to follow him. I may, however, quote a few of his incidental criticisms of the Roman Church. He acknowledges that at the time of the Reformation the Church needed to be reformed, and that it had repeatedly refused to carry through reforms within itself.¹ He makes a concession regarding the spiritual character of Protestantism, which his co-religionists are not always prepared to make. "Yet Protestantism has still preserved for itself enough of the essence of Christianity to make it the instrument of a genuinely Christian life. It would be inexplicable how millions of Christians could have professed it for nearly four centuries if it had not satisfied their religious necessities." "But how far this result is due to the Protestant Churches, and not rather to the grace of God, which drops peace and blessing into every willing heart, is not an open question, because it is only on the grace of God that real religious life is founded."² In this every true Pro-

¹ P. 90.

² Pp. 126-27.

testant will agree with Ehrhard, and will acknowledge frankly that the Protestant Churches do not save men and give them religious life, but only the free grace of God which the Protestant Churches preach. But what becomes of the claim of the Church of Rome that it and its sacraments are the only channels of saving grace, if the same grace comes to heretics?

That he is not prepared to yield unhesitating homage to the revered Council of Trent is seen in some of his criticisms. "That there were scarcely any German bishops at the Council must be described as a great disadvantage."¹ In reference to the decrees of the Council, he says: "For the proper appreciation of the value of all these decrees it must further be taken into account that they depend on the condition of religious and general human culture of the sixteenth century, and that they were intended for the time in which they arose, and not for the twentieth century."²

It is evident that he fears and dislikes the influence of the Society of Jesus, and he devotes several pages to the discussion of its position in the Church of Rome, though apparently he fears to express his thoughts on the subject too bluntly. "The Jesuit order," he says, "is one of the Catholic orders, as much justified from the ecclesiastical standpoint as the rest, but without any greater justification or any closer connection with the essence of Catholicism than any other. By its contrast to the older orders, by the distinct individuality of its founder, by the place and time of its birth, it shows itself to be a phenomenon arising out of historic circumstances, which can only claim a relative, not an absolute

¹ P. 134.

² P. 135.

value."¹ "The peculiarity of the Jesuit order makes it in the highest degree desirable, indeed necessary, that it should not succeed to predominance in any ecclesiastical sphere."²

Ehrhard makes a hopeless effort³ to get away from the dogmatic importance of the condemnation of Galileo, and of the denunciation by Pope Innocent x. of the Peace of Westphalia, which brought to an end the dreadful Thirty Years' War, ignoring the fact that the infallibility of the Church is bound up inextricably with such papal decisions.

He is so far in sympathy with Protestant views of Church history as to be able to write: "Events on the Catholic side, such as the executions ordered by Mary the Catholic (1553-1558), the conduct of the Inquisition in the Netherlands and Spain under Philip II. (1556-1598), the night of St. Bartholomew in France (1572) and its celebration in Rome, the so-called Irish Massacre (1641), are in themselves infinitely to be regretted."⁴ But what becomes of the fact that these events had the solemn and unrepented approval of the heads of the Roman Church?

Ehrhard describes the nineteenth century as the age of secularisation, and, without explaining why it should be so, he acknowledges that this secularisation was most marked in Roman Catholic countries.⁵ Referring to Ferdinand VII. of Spain, he says "he made the great mistake of suppressing by force the efforts for freedom, and of re-erecting the antiquated institution of the Inquisition."⁶

¹ P. 141.

² P. 146.

³ Pp. 151-54.

⁴ P. 171.

⁵ P. 224.

⁶ P. 241.

In a passage too long to quote at length,¹ Ehrhard enters a protest against the prevailing ultramontaniam of the Roman Catholic Church as inconsistent with the principles that were realised in the primitive Church, and as an attempt to change into absolute dogmas and unchangeable rights, facts and mediæval papal claims which were of a temporary character arising out of the circumstances that produced them. Unfortunately for his argument and his protest, the authorities of his Church do not look on these ultramontane claims as temporary, or as of merely historical interest, or *zeitgeschichtlich*, to use the expressive German word with which Ehrhard is fond of disposing of those elements in his Church with which he is out of sympathy. These claims are repeated with increasing persistence and vehemence as the years go by, and the whole character of the Roman Church will have to be altered if they are to be repudiated.

From these passages, and many others that might be cited had I space, it is evident that Ehrhard sees clearly the need of reform. He also sees clearly that his Church has reached a critical point in its history.² "It seems to me," he says, "that the opposition between the modern world and Catholic Christianity has at present reached a critical point, when the question must be asked whether Catholicism can maintain itself as an influential factor in the development of Western culture in the near future or not. It is felt by many that we have to do with a crisis of this kind; the feeling cannot therefore be purely subjective: it presses itself on everyone who regards the present position of Catholi-

¹ Pp. 250-51.

² Pp. 353-54.

cism with a critical eye." His criticism of many of the weak points of his Church and his distinct perception of the critical character of the position in which it is at present placed raise our expectations as to the proposals he will make for setting things right; but when we come to consider his proposed reforms we see at once their utter futility. They are summed up under three heads: ¹—

1. The conflict cannot be settled by the Church denying any of its fundamental principles, either theoretical or practical, or by breaking with its past in matters of principle. On these there can be no talk of the reconciliation of the Catholic Church with the modern world; on the contrary, the modern world must submit to reconcile itself to the Catholic Church. But ecclesiastical phenomena and results of the Middle Ages in their special mediæval form are not to be considered as binding on the present time.

But unfortunately for this mode of settling the dispute between the modern world and the Church of Rome, it is not Ehrhard and men of reforming tendencies like him who have to decide the question what is a fundamental doctrine or principle and what is merely temporary, mediæval, or *zeitgeschichtlich*, but the "infallible" Pope, and he is not likely to decide that a matter is not fundamental which undermines his position and authority. And the popes have been pushing their claims forward more and more audaciously with the course of the years, and have never resiled from any claim they have once made. Every new claim becomes a new "fundamental principle."

¹ Pp. 378-96.

2. Ehrhard thinks there should be an intelligent recognition of all new religious and ecclesiastical needs which are produced by modern civilisation, even if these are different from the mediæval expressions of religious life. For instance, while the nature of Christianity and the unity of the Church of God make national Churches impossible, it might be shown that Catholicism and nationalism are not opposed by allowing a place to the national language in some of the Church services. And a place corresponding more fully to their rights might be conceded to the laity in the constitution and work of the Church.

3. His third point is that Roman Catholics should remove the reproach of inferiority by every kind of spiritual, moral, and social work that would actually prove the civilising power of Catholicism. The Catholics of the present day, he frankly acknowledges, do not possess this power in sufficient amount; all Roman Catholic countries except France are prevented by their disadvantageous economic condition from taking their place in the work of modern civilisation, and the want of initiative and enterprise prevents those who could do so from devoting themselves to the task. But he neglects to explain why it is that those countries which were once the greatest in wealth and civilising power, but have refused to accept the Reformation, have been left far behind in the race by those who threw off the yoke of Rome.

The reader inevitably lays aside with a sense of disappointment a book of 450 pages, dealing with a great problem, which has nothing practical to offer for its solution but these three feeble and futile proposals.

A more vigorous protest than those of Schell and Ehrhard has come from Dr. Ludwig Wahrmund, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Innsbruck.¹ The six hundredth anniversary of the famous Bull *Unam Sanctam*,² issued by Boniface VIII. in 1302, was celebrated with considerable enthusiasm by the clerical party in the Tirol in the beginning of March 1902. On the 8th of that month Professor Wahrmund delivered a lecture to his students criticising the celebrations, and still more the ecclesiastical tendencies, which found expression in the laudation of the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. This lecture at once attracted the attention of the Continental press as one of the most incisive criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church which had come from its own ranks for a considerable time. Wahrmund was violently attacked by the clerical press in Italy, Austria, and Germany. And discussions on the subject of his lecture took place in the Austrian Parliament. On the 9th, 20th, and 27th April, 1902, in three articles in the *Tiroler Tagblatt*, Wahrmund replied to his critics. Space does not allow me to follow him through his argument in the lecture and the subsequent articles. It must suffice to take a few sentences from them here and there. He states even more emphatically than Schell or Ehrhard the intellectual inferiority of Roman Catholics. "Long, long ago the Catholic Church lost

¹ See *Universität und Kirche*. Akten zum Fall Wahrmund. Autorisierte Ausgabe. Frankfurt am Main, 1902.

² This Bull proclaimed as a Manichæan heresy the doctrine that the secular power was independent of the Pope. It taught that there are two swords—the sacred to be used *by* the Church, and the temporal *for* the Church. It makes all temporal rulers mere vassals of the Pope.

the predominance in the most highly educated strata of human society, in the circles which take the lead in intellectual pursuits. It is only the marked religious indifference of our time that keeps these circles, which like to avoid notoriety, in a quite loose, purely external connection with the Catholicism they have inherited. This is a well-known fact, often expressly conceded by strict Catholic authors. But to-day the circumstances are still worse. Before our eyes we see this indifferentism ever more and more pressing down into the middle strata of society, while from below radical socialism is annihilating, not perhaps merely the foundations of the Catholic Church, but of Christian views in general. The antagonism is almost greater below than above. So it comes that conservative Catholicism is attaching itself more and more to the small bourgeoisie and the peasantry, which are known to be the most conservative elements of society ; it is well on the road to become a pagan¹ religion, as once the perishing heathenism of antiquity. Thus too is explained the fact that the struggle is going to last longest in the Alpine countries, for the mountain peasantry have always held most tenaciously to what they have inherited from the past. . . . He who thinks he will get rid of the indifference of the present by processions of praying brotherhoods and the rosary worship of old women only makes himself ridiculous.”² A quotation is given from a speech delivered at the *Unam Sanctam* celebration in which one of the speakers said: “The Pope is the supreme lawgiver of the world ; for us his word and

¹ Pagan is, of course, used in its etymological sense.

² *Universität und Kirche*, pp. 8-9.

nod are so much the more authoritative as we have placed ourselves under his leadership. He is the supreme judge to whose judgment we all submit." Wahrmund referring to this statement says: "Gentlemen, in these words, which are said to have received storms of applause, the Bishop of Rome in the year of salvation 1902 is represented as the absolute lord, limited by no earthly authority, as the despot of the whole world. Never have intellectual limitation and blind fanaticism risen to such a prodigious lie. I do not speak of the ridiculousness of this contention in view of the fact proved by statistics, and known to all, that the population of the earth is about 1500 millions, of whom only approximately 220 millions are Roman Catholics, and that even these numbers mean little, since everyone knows a very large proportion of these 220 millions are only nominal Catholics."¹

In using these strong terms Wahrmund does not delude himself with the idea that the Church has abated one jot of her ancient claims, or that the Bull *Unam Sanctam* is only of temporary validity or interest; he does not, like Ehrhard, play with the word *zeitgeschichtlich*. He knows and maintains that the Bull is still part of the canon law of the Church. His quarrel with his Church is just that it makes these claims. "You see, Gentlemen, what *this* Catholicism is in truth. From different sides it has been described as the 'Principle of Progress' and the 'Principle of Retrogression.' It is neither the one nor the other; it is the principle of petrification, the principle of *absolute stagnation*."²

Wahrmund brushes aside without hesitation the

¹ P. 10.

² P. 12.

distinction between spiritual and secular by which the sting is sought to be taken out of the papal claim to universal sovereignty, and as a Roman Catholic professor of canon law his words must carry great weight. "Do not believe, Gentlemen, that the well-known distinction between the spiritual and the secular stands in the way of this claim that the Pope is the supreme lord of the world. . . . Even if it were formally made, as a matter of fact it comes to be quite meaningless, for canon law has never put forward a clear, precise, adequate definition of the two spheres. What is spiritual and what is secular is decided in the last resort exclusively by the infallible Pope: compare on this the *Syllabus* of Pius ix."

¹

The end of his speech was an appeal to the students to maintain at all costs their intellectual independence. "You will remember that in the combination of words 'Catholic student,' *student* is the principal word, and must remain so."

²

Dealing with those who despise the pleas for reform on the ground of the promises that the Church shall never perish, Wahrmond says: "I know that Christ promised continuance to the end of time to His Church—that is, to that kingdom of God which, according to the words of the Gospel, 'is not of this world,' of which it cannot be said, 'See, it is here or there,' but which is enthroned 'within' believing men; to that kingdom of God whose supreme law He proclaimed as love to God and to our neighbour. And I am of opinion that the freest scholar, without in the least surrendering his scientific conviction, may believe in the continuance of

¹ P. 13.

² P. 18.

such a kingdom of God. But the proof that this kingdom of God is identical with the Church represented by the *Vaterland* and the *Volkszeitung*,¹ as these papers seem to assume, has yet to be produced, and I shall only change my published opinion when it is produced.”²

He is equally pronounced in his opinions on the question of the unchangeability of the Church. “The pious legend that the Catholic Church from the beginning to the present day has not altered at all, can only be maintained by him who either does not know, or accepts as true, the historical forgeries by which it has to be supported. If we were to let a Christian of the third century see the Catholic Church of to-day, he would certainly not be able to recognise in it the Church of his time.”³

His last article deals principally with the Bull *Unam Sanctam* and with the *Syllabus* in which Pius ix. reasserted the same absolute claims, and he denies unconditionally the possibility of reconciling the acceptance of these claims with loyalty to the head of the State and obedience to the laws of the State. “He who actually, that is not merely theoretically, receives the Bull *Unam Sanctam* and the *Syllabus* cannot be a faithful, obedient, and loyal citizen of the State in the present meaning of these terms.”⁴ It is well for us to have so authoritative a statement on this point. For when Protestants have maintained the same opinion, they have been charged with bigotry and the desire to stir up political hatred against religious opponents.

¹ Roman Catholic papers that had attacked the views expressed in his lecture.

² P. 35.

³ P. 36.

⁴ P. 50.

His conclusion is :—" Above all, it is the duty of the universities, as the chosen defenders of all intellectual blessings, in spite of reactionary movements, courageously to unfold the banner of progress, and not to allow the enthusiasm for high ideals of truth, knowledge, and faithfulness to conviction, of toleration, love of country and love of neighbour, to die out in the rising generation. As for me, I hope without *Syllabus* and *Unam Sanctam*, with these ideals to win my heaven. I shall also, untroubled by the outcry and hissing on right hand or left, endeavour to deliver them to the academic youth."¹

The Church that was brave against the meek, weak-kneed Schell has not yet summoned courage to deal with the more fearless and outspoken Wahrmund.

These men may be taken as representative of the numerous protests which have recently appeared inside the Church of Rome against the present evils of that Church. They are all certain either to fail utterly through the complete inadequacy of the suggested remedies, or to lead to a genuine reform that will go to the root of Romanism, and not content itself with futile proposals to regenerate the Church by allowing the laity to audit church accounts, and such like halting suggestions.

¹ P. 52.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH¹

ONE of the most interesting and important secessions from the Church of Rome in recent years is that known as the Old Catholic Church, which had its origin in the revolt of some of the most learned and able members of the Roman Catholic Church against the decree of the Infallibility of the Pope issued by the Vatican Council.

Pope Pius ix. began his reign as a liberal pope, but the rapid progress of democratic ideas in the early years of his pontificate seems to have frightened him into more conservative paths, and he soon proved himself to be one of the most reactionary and ultramontane of the occupants of the Roman See. In 1854 he issued on his sole responsibility the famous Bull *Ineffabilis*, decreeing the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin to be a dogma of the faith, to be received unquestioningly by all the faithful. This doctrine and the mode in which it was promulgated caused considerable dissatisfaction among thoughtful Roman Catholics.

¹ See article by Professor Schulte in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, 3rd edition, vol. i. pp. 415-25, on "Altkatholicismus"; also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvii. 754-56 (art. "Old Catholics"); and vol. xxvii. 502-5 (art. "Döllinger"); Janus, *Der Papst und das Concil.*

But, accustomed to accept blindly whatever the Church taught, they silently submitted. Ten years later Pius took another important step in the issue of the famous *Syllabus*, in which, side by side with antichristian doctrines, all the accepted principles of modern political and social life, such as freedom of belief and worship, liberty of the press and of science, the State's independence of the Church, the equality of the laity and the clergy in civil matters, were condemned as heretical. It was nominally to secure the support of a council to the tenets of this *Syllabus* that the Vatican Council was called ; but before the Council met it came to be known that the real purpose in convening it was to obtain a decree pronouncing the Pope to be infallible when speaking *ex cathedra* on any point of faith or morals. Against this proposal very strong opposition was raised. The most learned theologians of the Church with practical unanimity protested against it as opposed to Scripture, tradition, and the decrees of the Councils. The Council itself when it met was most stormy in its discussions, and scenes were enacted worthy of the Robber Synod of Ephesus. The Pope had at his disposal a vast majority of the members of the Council, who were either Italians or missionary bishops paid by him. Every effort was made to put down free discussion. Those who opposed the doctrine of papal infallibility were constantly interrupted in their arguments, and prevented from putting their case properly before the members. In spite of manœuvring, cajoling, and threatening, eighty-eight voted against the decree. Ultimately some of these were gained over, and the rest of the opponents, fearing for their personal safety,

as they were in the temporal dominion of the Pope, left Rome. Fifty of these when leaving published a declaration that they were still opposed to the decree. On the 18th July, 1870, the last public sitting of the Council was held, and the decree passed with only two dissentient voices. On the same day the war between France and Germany began. It is stated on what is believed to be excellent authority that the Empress of the French and her courtiers were largely instrumental in bringing about the meeting of the Vatican Council and in securing the passing of the decree of Papal Infallibility. The same influence led to the war, which was intended to be a triumphant march to Berlin, and the victory of ultramontaniam over Protestantism. But the war led immediately to the destruction of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. On the 20th September, Victor Emmanuel entered Rome and made it the capital of United Italy. The Vatican Council has made internal reform of the Church of Rome henceforth impossible, has led to the secession of the Old Catholics, and has confirmed the revolt of the intellect of Europe against a Church which has set herself against everything that makes for freedom and progress in the modern world.

The conduct of the protesting bishops when they returned to their several dioceses is contemptible in the extreme. They almost immediately submitted to the decree which they had protested they could not accept. And then they set about compelling the acceptance of it by their subordinates under penalty of suspension and deposition. In this they were encouraged either by the indifference or the active assistance of the

Governments of their respective countries. Two or three bishops held out for a time ; but at length Hefele, the distinguished church historian, the last recalcitrant, submitted. It showed, as the Reformation had done, how little the bishops, even when well disposed, could be counted on to resist papal aggression and contend for purity of doctrine, and that this work, if it is to be done, must be done by the lower clergy and the laity.

There was, however, a class which was not so subservient—the theological professors who had protested against the decree before the Council met, and who had done their best to prevent its passing. A freer spirit had been growing up in the universities which the papal *Syllabus* was intended to crush. From these came the first signal of revolt. One of the first to publish a formal protest was Professor von Schulte of Prague, who has ever since been a leading spirit in the movement. A meeting of distinguished Roman Catholic scholars at Nuremberg appealed for a Council which would be really free to meet where it would not be dominated by the Italian bishops. M. Hyacinthe Loyson, better known as Père Hyacinthe, appealed to the bishops to declare whether they believed the recent decrees to be binding. Dr. Döllinger, the most distinguished scholar in the Roman Catholic Church, published a letter explaining why he could not, “as a Christian, a theologian, a historical student, and a citizen,” submit to the Vatican decrees.

In September 1871 a Council of delegates from all parts of the world who could not accept the decrees

met in Munich, and made arrangements for organising a protest, and passed resolutions in favour of coming to an arrangement with the Protestant communions. The next year another Council was held at Cologne, when further steps were taken to organise the movement, by having an independent bishop appointed. Had Döllinger, with his immense popularity and reputation for scholarship and character, fallen in with this proposal and allowed himself to be chosen bishop, the movement would probably have acquired vastly greater proportions than it ultimately attained. But shrinking from any step that had the appearance of schism, he resisted the proposal, and thereby Bavaria was to a great extent lost to the movement. But by a large majority the proposal to organise as a separate Church was accepted, Professor Reinkens was elected, and was ordained by the Bishop of Deventer. This prelate was one of three bishops of a Church which had for 150 years existed in Holland independent of the Papacy. It is popularly known as the Jansenist Church, but called itself the Old Catholic Church. It had shown its sympathy with the new revolt against the Infallibility decrees, and the Archbishop of Utrecht had offered to consecrate any bishop who might be elected to take charge of the new movement.

From this point the movement organised itself as an independent Church. The bishop is assisted by a council composed of both priests and laymen. The priests of the different churches are chosen by the members of their congregations. The affairs of each congregation are managed by a council of members of the

congregation freely elected for the purpose. The Church takes as its standards of doctrine the decisions of the first seven General Councils. To open the way to communion with the Protestant Churches, councils of later date are not considered binding. They have decided that auricular confession is not to be obligatory, but is to be left to the discretion of each member ; and absolution from sin is not to be considered as bound up with the pronouncement of the priest. Christ is the Head of the Church, which Church is invisible in so far as it is composed of those who are partakers of salvation through Christ. A man may belong to the invisible Church without being a member of the visible Church. The vernacular tongue is used in nearly all services, though the Latin is still retained in part of the ritual of the Mass. The observance of saints' days is confined to the more important. Fasting is made optional, and all distinction of lawful and unlawful meats is abolished. Celibacy is not obligatory on the clergy. There was considerable opposition to the removal of the prohibition of marriage, but it was carried by a very large majority, and the permission has been largely taken advantage of. In French Switzerland nearly all the Old Catholic clergy are married, and in German Switzerland about one half. The persecutions through which the Old Catholics had to pass, and the great difficulties they had to overcome in establishing their independent position, weeded out those who were not in earnest, and made those who remained men of zeal and faith. This has to be taken into account when we consider their actual numbers.

The Old Catholic Church has its principal strongholds in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, with smaller bodies in France, Italy, and Mexico. There has been a gradual, steady increase in its membership almost everywhere. The "Los von Rom" Movement has brought a considerable accession in Austria.

It is difficult to form any probable estimate of what will be the ultimate fate of Old Catholicism. It has already served an important purpose in protesting against the ultramontaniam of modern Romanism. Its friendship with Protestantism has drawn it away more and more from the characteristic Romanist doctrines. It will probably serve as a bridge for those who are dissatisfied with the Church of Rome, but are not yet prepared to take the decisive step of completely renouncing the errors of that faith for the teachings of a thoroughly evangelical Protestantism. The much greater progress of Protestantism in the districts touched by the "Los von Rom" Movement shows that there is no necessity for this half-way house in the majority of cases. And the secessions which frequently take place from Old Catholicism to Protestantism show that many do find it only such a half-way house. But if we are justified on other grounds in seeing the beginnings of a new reformation in the spiritual movements that are agitating European society, may we not look on this movement as one of the signs of that reformation? We know that there were men in the sixteenth century who feared that the reforms advocated by most of the leaders of the movement were too thoroughgoing. These men assisted

the Reformation though they shrank from the more decisive steps which others were prepared to take. And we may welcome the Old Catholics for the important function they are serving in the transition to something better.

CHAPTER V

THE "LOS VON ROM" MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA

I. THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

NOWHERE is the close connection between religious and political movements seen more clearly than in the "Los von Rom" Movement that has been attracting so much attention in Austria since the end of the year 1898. So prominent has the political element in it been, that many casual observers have decided that it is nothing more than a political demonstration. We shall see that this is an incorrect estimate of its character, when we examine it on its religious side. But that political influences have been an important factor in bringing it about no candid student of the movement can deny. It will therefore be necessary to take a brief survey of the political circumstances which preceded it.

The war of 1866 with Prussia transferred the leadership of the German states to the Northern State, and cut off those German-speaking states which belonged to the Austrian monarchy from political association with the North German Confederation. This involved a complete reorganisation of the government of Austria. Hungary now attained the object of its political

aspirations, and became a separate monarchy, entirely independent of the rest of the empire, and with the very slightest bonds of union with it. The rest of the empire was to be governed by a parliament in which all the conglomeration of races and tongues which make up Austria were to be represented. Even if the wave of national feeling that swept over Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century had never arisen, it is extremely doubtful if it would have been possible to rule harmoniously the divergent interests of so many different nations. But the revival of national aspirations, and the determination of each distinct nationality to assert its rights and realise its dreams, no matter what the imperial consequences might be, made parliamentary government of Austria an impossibility. For the past thirty years parliamentary institutions have utterly failed, and have been entirely discredited in Vienna. The aim of every statesman to whose lot it fell to administer the affairs of the empire has been to play off the various nationalities and combinations of nationalities against one another in such a way as would enable him, however briefly, to carry on the affairs of the empire. The national struggles turned on the language question and the question of territorial parliaments. The Germans had always been the backbone of the empire. They were the element which gave historical continuity to it, and they formed at once the most numerous and the most intelligent section of the Austrian portion of the dual monarchy. Till recent times German was the only language officially recognised in the army and in most departments of the state service. But when local parliaments were formed,

and when all the various territories were represented in the Imperial Parliament, it became evident that some concessions must be made to the different nationalities. Any concessions meant the lessening of German influence in the affairs of the Government, and some of the proposals made, and some of the measures actually carried out, would have meant the ultimate practical annihilation of German influence where it had before been predominant. This was specially so in Bohemia. The natural result of this confusion was the embittering of the national animosities by which Austria is divided.

Had no other factor entered into the situation, however, it would probably not have had any serious influence on ecclesiastical affairs. But two other important factors did enter. The war of 1866 had completely altered the balance of power among the various German states. Austria, which had enjoyed the German leadership for centuries, saw it pass to Prussia. The Austrian, or "Ostmark," Germans saw that they had fallen from the position of eminence which they had so long held, and they saw their place taken by Prussia, a comparatively new, and a Protestant power. Many began to ask the explanation of this transfer of influence, and they saw that it was only part of a larger question: why leadership had passed away from the nations which had clung to the Papacy, and had been transferred to those nations which had rejected the tutelage of Rome. There seemed no solution of the problem but that the Church of Rome was sapping the energies of the nations that owned its sway, and that political salvation was to be found in throwing off the yoke of the Papacy and linking them-

selves in faith and political destiny with the Protestant Germans of the North.¹ Probably many by whom such opinions were held were at first little influenced by religious considerations. But the conviction began to be freely expressed that Protestantism was necessary as a defence of German nationality (*Deutschtum*), and that the only way to preserve Germanism from being completely wiped out by the rising waves of Slavism was by a return to the faith that had been crushed out by the Thirty Years' War and the persecutions of Ferdinand II.

But another influence wrought effectively in the same direction. In their struggles with the Slavs for the political supremacy, the Germans found that the whole weight of the Roman Catholic Church was thrown into the scale against them. And it gradually became evident that this was not an accident of the local political situation, but part of the politics of the Vatican. Since the Reformation the Vatican has never loved Germany. The Franco-German War was part of its plan for the overthrow of Protestantism by the defeat of Prussia and the placing of France at the head of Roman Catholic Europe. When the victory of the German arms shattered this plan, the Vatican set itself to raise up in Austria a great Slav Roman Catholic power. For the past three decades it has been working steadily with this end in view, and utilising every agency that political circumstances brought to its hand. The clerical party has been a continual disturbing element

¹ And on this account many German nationalists began openly to advocate annexation of the German territories of Austria to the German Empire.

in the political life of Austria throughout the confusion of recent years, stimulating the national aspirations of the Slavs, setting itself up as the champion of Slavism, and at the same time trampling whenever possible on the national aspirations of the Germans. This has shown itself to be the settled policy of the Church in the appointment of priests and curates in German and bilingual districts. A deliberate effort has been made to suppress Germanism in Bohemia by constantly appointing Czech priests over German congregations. For instance, there are in bilingual parishes only 23 German to 272 Czech priests, and in purely German parishes 618 German to 562 Czech priests. The pressure of this policy was felt most in North Bohemia, where a German population is spread in a wide strip between Saxony and Prussia on the one side and the Czech centre of Bohemia on the other. Against this policy of suppression on the part of the Church the Germans protested with all earnestness, but quite ineffectually. The policy of the Roman authorities was probably assisted by the fact that in Bohemia, as in Ireland and other countries, the Church of Rome is drawing its candidates for the priesthood more and more from the ranks of the illiterate peasantry, and the material it loves to use is supplied in greater abundance by the Czech peasantry than by the better educated German industrial population. However this may be, the situation became increasingly acute, and the struggle on this ecclesiastical question was transferred from the local parishes that were immediately affected in each case to the political arena, and it became the watchword of many of the German National Party that

the only way to secure their political safety and national aspirations was to secede, and the ominous battlecry of "*Los von Rom*"¹ began to be heard.

It was the students who first gave decided expression to this threat. A medical student named Födisch, at a meeting of 4000 students in Vienna, made this declaration: "If we do not yet strike our final blow against Rome, let it be understood that it is because we do not consider it advantageous at present, and that the German students are only waiting for the suitable moment in order to show their people by a great example how it should free itself from the fetters of the deadly Romish enemy, in order to enjoy in the German-Christian, Protestant Church, for the present in its existent form, an education a thousand times nobler, freer, and above all national."² These words were enthusiastically applauded by the vast audience. But the speaker was expelled from the University, and had subsequently to go through once more two examinations which he had already passed brilliantly. This did not prevent another student from saying shortly afterwards: "Such a policy as that of the Roman Catholic Church at the present day will let loose a conflagration of the injured German national consciousness that will rage with all-conquering power through the German districts, with the only effective battlecry: '*Los von Rom.*'"³

Even the poet Rosegger, with his mild evangelical

¹ That is, "Away from Rome," or "Free from Rome." It is difficult to represent it in English by an equally concise phrase.

² Braeunlich, *Die neueste Katholische Bewegung zur Befreiung vom Papsttum*, p. 52.

³ Braeunlich, *op. cit.* p. 52.

sentiments, felt impelled to publish a *Word of Warning to the Catholic Clergy*, in which he said: "Our people need spiritual advisers with whom they feel at one. . . . Our German priests leave us alone in our need. They are not only not national, they openly ally themselves with our opponents. Every other nation would ask its priests, would exhort, command them: 'Help us! In grievous times turn your great influence to the help of our, your, race.' We Germans have learned to be modest. We do not demand from our priests as much as other nations enjoy unasked from their Catholic priests: the national sentiment. If the German clergy will not and cannot be for us, let them at least not work against us. Let them allow us to act unmolested when we wish to preserve and secure for our posterity the German home in beloved Austria. Neutrality! It is sinfully little to ask."¹

At last the leader of the German Radicals, Herr von Schönerer, proclaimed this watchword at the meeting of the Reichsrat on the 5th November, 1898:—"Louder and louder," he said, "the cry resounds for the careful observer, and is heard more distinctly, the cry which may be comprehended in the three words: 'Los von ROM! LOS VON ROM!' That must be the battlecry in this serious hour of the national conflict, when the Germans, in what concerns their nationality, are, so to speak, brought almost to desperation. 'Los von ROM!' is, Gentlemen, the watchword which sounds ever more distinctly, and we German Nationalists should really be deeply thankful to the present Ministry, to the majority, and to the German clericals, that in

¹ Braeunlich, *op. cit.* p. 54.

this respect the cause goes forward more rapidly than was formerly the case. 'LOS VON ROM!' Gentlemen, must and will become a fact. It will take place. More and more the forces are gathering. And do not deceive yourselves about the fearful earnestness of the present time; do not hope that suddenly, perhaps accidentally, a deliverer will come. Probably no deliverer will come. But deliverance will come by action, by bringing to an issue the cry which I repeat for the third time: 'LOS VON ROM!'"¹

On the 15th January, 1899, a meeting was held in Vienna, attended by 800 persons from nearly all the Crownlands of Austria interested in the movement. At the beginning of the meeting, on the motion of Schönerer, a resolution was passed unanimously pledging those present to secede from the Church of Rome, the secession to take place as soon as ten thousand had intimated their readiness to take this step.² By the 1st July, 3252 had pledged themselves to Schönerer to secede from the Church of Rome. This number probably did not include many who joined the Protestant and Old Catholic Churches without intimating their secession to the leader of the German Nationalists.

¹ Braeunlich, *op. cit.* p. 54.

² *Ibid.* p. 55.

CHAPTER VI

THE "LOS VON ROM" MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA

II. THE SPIRITUAL AWAKENING

IN the last chapter I have dwelt only on the political side of the movement. But while its political aspect was the most evident to the casual observer of its early stages, and while political motives seemed to predominate, even the political results would have been impossible had there not been a genuine religious element operating throughout its whole course. Men do not, from purely political grounds, or at the bidding of any political leader, leave in thousands the Church in which they have been brought up. Even at the meeting at which Schönerer appealed for 10,000 seceders, Dr. Eisenkolb of Karbitz reported on the movement in German Bohemia, and specially emphasised that religious and moral motives were decisive in the movement of secession; and he warned his hearers against believing that they could win the peasantry for the movement if they were silent on its religious and moral grounds.

Dissatisfaction with the action of the Roman Catholic Church and its priests prepared the people to think more favourably of Protestantism, and created a

longing in their hearts for something better, freer, and more sympathetic than the Church that had betrayed them. But as soon as they began to look in the direction of Protestantism a new difficulty presented itself. The old Protestants had lived under disabilities so long, they formed so small a proportion of the population, the circumstances in which they were placed were so adverse to the maintenance of their spiritual life, that they were neither able nor willing to step into the great opportunity that had been suddenly created for them. The political aspect of the movement excited their suspicions; there was a very intelligible reluctance to appear to take advantage of the new situation for mere proselytising purposes; the adverse circumstances in which they had always been placed had sapped their strength, and had deprived them of the spirit of enterprise that would have enabled them to rise to their new opportunities. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that they did not at first show that sympathy with the men who were turning away from the bondage of Romanism which these had a right to look for. There was a serious danger of the religious atmosphere the movement was beginning to create for itself being poisoned, and the movement itself dying out in mutual jealousy and suspicion. From this it was saved by the intervention of the Evangelischer Bund,¹ and most especially of Pastor Braeunlich, the indefatigable Secretary of its Committee for the Furtherance of the Evangelical Church in Austria. At the beginning of the movement he was sent on a tour of investigation through the

¹ To be carefully distinguished from the Evangelical Alliance.

districts of Austria in which it had shown itself, to make inquiries and report to the Bund. During this and several subsequent journeys he came into close personal intercourse with the leaders in all the various Crownlands of Austria. While he found that many of the guiding spirits of the revolt had lost faith in religion, and did not hesitate to state that the time for religious movements was past, still the movement was essentially religious; he found a spiritual unrest, and longing for light, that promised well for the future of the movement if it were guided into right channels. It was seen at once that the movement could not be left to the feeble resources of a Church which was unable to maintain the ordinances of the Gospel for its own members without constant appeals for help from their Protestant brethren in the German Empire, and that it must be taken vigorously in hand by the same friends, if it was not to dissipate itself in a short time through want of efficient help and sympathy. Accordingly, one after another, Evangelical pastors were sent to open services in districts where the movement had rooted itself and where there were no Protestant services already established, and to assist Protestant pastors in Austria who were unable to cope with the demands upon their strength made by the influx of new members.

The results were soon manifest on every side. Congregations that had been weak and struggling received a new influx, not only of adherents, but of life and energy, while the Gospel was preached regularly in many places where its glad news had not been heard since it was driven away by fire and sword

in the terrible convulsions of the Thirty Years' War. All hesitation on the part of the Austrian Churches was soon swept away by the flood of religious enthusiasm that poured in on the people. Sites for new churches were purchased, and numerous new places of worship erected. For the cost of these, contributions were supplied with the most self-sacrificing generosity, in which all classes of the converts seemed to vie with each other.

And it was not merely in this external way that the progress and religious character of the movement proved itself. Thousands of Bibles, New Testaments, and devotional books began to pour into Austria to supply the need of the new Protestants for spiritual nourishment. The attendance of the converts on the services of the Churches and at meetings for religious instruction was most remarkable. New preaching stations were opened wherever possible, and many of these developed into pastorates as the progress of the movement caused the work to grow. And the living interest of the converts in their new faith was seen in their constant efforts to let their light shine, by telling of their new-found rest to friends and companions, so that at work and in the intercourse of their daily companionships they became missionaries of their faith. Converts will sometimes go from their own town to neighbouring villages to proclaim the joy their faith has brought them. The movement has not merely made Protestants of Roman Catholics: it has taken hold of men who had rejected all creeds with equal contempt, and has brought them to the feet of Christ as humble worshippers. It has lifted men

who were sunk in sin, in idleness, in drunkenness, and given them new life and hope.

And it is not only among the new Protestants that the spiritual power of the movement has been felt. It has breathed new life into the old Protestants of Austria. A Church which had little of that spirit of hopefulness and energy which should characterise those who profess to have received the heritage of Luther and Calvin; which was unable to undertake the spiritual oversight of its own scattered children, and was yearly losing many of these through the isolation and absence of pastoral care in which they lived; a Church in which even the elders were frequently known to allow their children to be brought up under Roman Catholic influences, and even as Roman Catholics; in which the number of mixed marriages was very great, and always to the detriment of the Protestant side of the contract,—this comparatively inert and flabby Protestantism has once more become a power in the land, a power conscious of its own importance. It has once more begun to sing the war-song of the Reformation, "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*," with the firm conviction that it is no anachronism, but that its expressions of confidence in God are confirmed by the victories it is every day achieving. It no longer looks on the Romanism that towers over it in Austria as an invincible power which it is impossible to overcome, and towards which it must ever stand in an attitude of defence. It is awakening to the responsibilities of its position as a Protestant Church in the midst of spiritual darkness, and is with greater earnestness trying to tell to others what the Lord has done for it,

And it is to this evangelical testimony that its continued triumph and its increasingly religious character are due.

But it has produced another result which must not be overlooked in any just estimate of its influence. In many men, of whom the distinguished poet and novelist, Peter Rosegger, is the most notable example, men who have not yet seen their way to turn their backs on the Church in which they were reared, it has produced a real spiritual awakening. It has brought a new light into their lives. But they are bound to the Church of their youth by ties they think it unnecessary or impossible to break. These say they are too old to break with the associations of the past; they will stay in the old Church, but their children may go over to the Evangelical Church; and the children are doing so in increasing numbers.

It has had still another effect that is not without important meaning for the future. It has awakened or stimulated the cry for reform within the Church of Rome. One bishop has not hesitated to say that the Church "needs reform in head and members." The conviction that such a change is necessary is growing in the minds of thoughtful Roman Catholics, and this conviction must produce one or other of two results. It will either bring about some measure of reform, or it will prove its impossibility, and lead them to abandon a Church that will not and cannot reform. This was what happened in the sixteenth century, when reform inside the Church was still to some extent possible. It is what must happen in an age in which

the decree of Papal Infallibility has made internal reform henceforth an impossibility.

That the movement is essentially a religious, and not a political one is now acknowledged by men whose testimony on this subject cannot be questioned. The leaders who took their stand at its head when it originated, thinking to use it simply as a piece in their political game, have long ago had to stand aside and give place to men who, however deep their interest in politics may be, are chiefly concerned with the religious question. It is not Wolf and Schönerer, but Braeunlich and Eisenkolb, Fraiss and Rosegger, who are the real representatives of the movement to-day; and these men from the very beginning saw in it not a manoeuvre of political speculators, but a work of God Himself. This finds confirmation in the words of a man who joined the movement at the beginning from political motives, and subsequently abandoned it because he found it too religious for his taste. Writing to a Vienna newspaper in November 1901, he said: "Formerly in our circle people laughed at religious convictions. Now you are continually witnessing discussions on questions of religious controversy. Those who then did not trouble themselves about religion are now its most zealous champions, and in a fair way to get into the proper orthodox channel of religious life. As the whole movement is now developing, and its diversion in any other direction is scarcely to be imagined, we can only suppose that a continually increasing Protestant bigotry will triumph."¹ The

¹ Quoted by Braeunlich in *Der gegenwärtige Stand der evangelischen Bewegung in Oesterreich*, p. 7.

priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church have chosen to decry it as merely a political manoeuvre,¹ and profess to believe that "*Los von Rom*" is but another way of saying "*Los von Oesterreich* (Austria)." But the bitterness of their opposition shows that they know in their hearts that the movement has roots that strike deeper than the political schemes of the moment, and reach down to the spiritual needs and instincts of the human soul.

¹ Schachleiter, the bitterest clerical opponent of the movement, has recently acknowledged that though the movement was originally national, it is now religious.

CHAPTER VII

THE "LOS VON ROM" MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA

III. HOW ROME DEALS WITH THE MOVEMENT

THE Church of Rome claims to be *Semper eadem*. There are many directions in which this claim contradicts history in the most unmistakable way. But in the manner in which she deals with reformers no one can question her claim to unchangeableness. Where she possesses the power to do so, she always persecutes relentlessly those who separate themselves from her, or who insist on her reforming her creed or her conduct. True to her history and her principles, she has done so with the new reformers in Austria, and has adopted all her usual weapons of attack.

As usual in such cases, one of her great weapons is slander. According to the Roman Catholic priests, the movement of revolt from their authority is a revolt from God and from Christ, and to add political animosity to religious hatred it is denounced as disloyalty to the State, "*Los von Oesterreich*." The proofs of the genuine religious character of the movement given in the last chapter sufficiently dispose of the religious slander. The charge that the new Protestants of Austria are in any respect unfaithful to the constitution

of the empire has not a shadow of foundation. Another form which Roman slander took for a time was the accusation that the converts were bought at so much a head. So long as this was left vague, it could only be met with an indignant denial. But when the charge was made definitely against the converts of a particular place, it could be met. In several cases where the priest said that the converts of his parish had been bribed to leave the Church of Rome, the Protestant pastor brought an action for libel against him, and received damages. When this had been done in several cases, it put an end in some measure to this contemptible way of dealing with a religious question.

Another mode of dealing with the movement has been to call in the arm of the law to prevent the introduction and distribution of Protestant tracts and books. Although in the eyes of the law all creeds are equal and free, the officials to whom the carrying out of the law is entrusted are under the power of the clerical party, and do not hesitate to place themselves at its disposal. Consequently anything that can be considered an attack on the Church of Rome is immediately seized and destroyed, while the Roman Catholics are left at liberty to distribute attacks on Protestantism without let or hindrance. In the same way meetings are frequently prohibited because some clerical official has in his wisdom decided that the purpose for which it is held is to attack the Church of Rome. A meeting has been prohibited because an address was to be delivered at it on the subject "How Luther became a Reformer." One pastor was even forbidden to deliver a lecture on "Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour," although he

made a written statement that there was not a word of politics in it.

Numerous attempts have been made by priests to prevent Protestants from being buried in the parish churchyards, and the Friedhof (Court of Peace), as the cemetery is beautifully called in German, has frequently been made the scene or cause of unseemly religious disputes. But the law gives Protestants an indisputable right to burial in the parish churchyard, and as a rule they have insisted on having their legal rights granted to them.

In Austria, as elsewhere, boycotting is a favourite weapon in the hands of the clerical party. Here is a typical instance.¹ In the year 1900 a hairdresser named A. Wehrmann, a man with a large family, went to Gnas, in Styria, and began business there. When the Roman Catholic clergyman of the place learned that he was a Protestant, his ruin was decided. The locksmith with whom he lived gave him notice, and a chimneysweep took over the shaving of the Roman Catholic population, as there was no other hairdresser in the place. No householder would venture to take the unfortunate man into his house. At last a wretchedly poor tailor took pity on him, and allowed him to carry on his work in his kitchen. Here another child was born, and when he had it baptized a Protestant, the priest intimated to the poor tailor that he would get no more work unless he put out the heretic family. "Away with them!" he said. "We don't want two kinds of people in this place." Defenceless, he had to leave the town, and had to sell his possessions for a mere song,

¹ Braeunlich, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Steiermark*, p. 41.

as he had no money to pay for their transport. He went to Mureck, and there his wife, who was a Roman Catholic, went over to the faith of her husband. On the same day, at the instigation of the priest, he received notice to quit both his dwelling and his business. So once more he had to flit, this time to Graz. Such cases could be multiplied. The man who becomes a Protestant has in numberless cases to do so at the imminent risk of being ruined in business, or losing his employment, and being left without the means of subsistence for himself and his family. And this boycotting is not confined to private life ; it finds its way also into the public service. For a man in any public office to become a Protestant means almost instant dismissal, however excellent his record, or however bright his prospects of advancement. When Karl Fraiss began to take part in the movement he was looked on as one of the most gifted advocates in Styria, with the right to speedy promotion to the Bench. But he was relentlessly dismissed from the official appointment he held.

The persecution to which the Protestants are exposed is not confined to these gentler phases. Even brute violence is not neglected. The case of Zinnwald¹ shows to what extent the persecution would go if the restraints of the law could be disregarded more than they are. The Bohemian Protestants like to hold meetings for conference and mutual intercourse on Sundays at some convenient centre, where several congregations can come together, when the conditions of the weather are favourable. On Sunday, 22nd September, 1901, a

¹ See *Die ersten Blutzeugen der Zweiten Reformation in Oesterreich*.

meeting of this kind was held in a restaurant in Zinnwald, on the Bohemian side of the Saxon frontier, at which about 150 members of the congregations of Klostergrab, Eichwald, Turn, Graupen, Altenberg, and Geysin were assembled. A large room on the first floor was put at their disposal by the proprietor. The local priest that morning preached a violent sermon against the Protestants, and inflamed the fanaticism of his hearers. After refreshments had been served, the meeting sang enthusiastically "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*," and then Pastor Ungnad of Klostergrab addressed them a few words of welcome. He had scarcely begun when a loud whistle resounded from the midst of a group of men who had posted themselves at the door. This was apparently a preconcerted signal, for thereupon a band of men rushed in and began a savage attack on the meeting, in which there was a large proportion of women and children. At the same time there rattled in on them from the street a hail of large stones, thrown with such violence that the frames of the windows were shattered. The scene that followed was fearful: the rattling of stones, the crashing of the windows, the breaking of chairs and of glasses thrown about, the heartrending cries of women and children who were struck, and above all, the howling of the attackers in the hall and in the street. The floor was covered with bloodstains and torn clothes: one gentleman was knocked unconscious by a kick, and lay under fragments of chairs; another had his face split open; a third was severely wounded; a woman of fifty-four years as she fled was struck by a dragoon with a beer measure, and lay unconscious and bleeding. The men

tried to defend the women and children. With great difficulty, they broke open the door into a neighbouring room, put them in, and shut and barricaded the door. But it was in vain. After a moment's rest, the rabble burst in again. The windows of this last refuge were broken in with stones; the door was stormed and broken in, and the attack renewed on the wedged-in, defenceless crowd. On Pastor Ungnad the attack was made with special violence. They shouted, "We must have the black dog! Strike him dead, the cursed heretic!" With great difficulty he was several times rescued from the crowd attacking him. Now at last the mayor appeared with a town councillor to restore order and arrest the ringleader, and arrested—Pastor Ungnad, as the originator of the massacre! After considerable negotiations, he and his fellow-Protestants were allowed to go; but outside they were received by the same rabble, who had formed lines along the street, and they had to run for their lives to the German frontier, about a hundred yards distant, hit with sticks and stones, women with their rosaries and prayer-books in their hands joining in the assault, and without protection from the police, who had been withdrawn beforehand. In the neighbourhood stood the Austrian custom-house officer, the only state official on the spot, without moving a finger to help; and in the neighbourhood stood also the Roman Catholic priest, smirking and rubbing his hands, and surrounded and congratulated by his bloodstained flock. Instead of the criminals being brought to justice, Pastor Ungnad has been refused naturalisation, and has been expelled from Austria.

These are some of the means by which the Church of Rome defends herself against her opponents, and by which she tries to prevent her children leaving her. But in this she is overreaching herself. Opposition carried on on such lines as these defeats itself, unless it is strong and persistent enough to crush out all its enemies entirely, as was done in Austria in the seventeenth century, and in Spain in the sixteenth. But the day for quenching spiritual movements in blood is gone. Rome has not sufficient hold on her own flock now to enable her to carry out a policy of extermination. In Austria the persecuting policy of the Church has a twofold effect. It prevents the accession of half-hearted or unconvinced converts, thereby purifying the stream that flows into the Protestant Churches ; and it awakens disgust and hatred of Rome in the breast of thinking men. Each new proof of the intolerance of Rome in any locality generally sends over to the Protestant Churches a number of those whose eyes are being opened to the evils of the Church in which they were born.

Another weapon which the Church of Rome uses to the great irritation of the Protestants is the refusal of naturalisation to German subjects who come to Austria to take charge of new congregations. Foreigners cannot settle as permanent pastors in Austrian churches till they receive naturalisation. They may be allowed to officiate temporarily till their application has received the decision of the Government, but if that decision is adverse, they have at once to leave. As the Austrian Church is entirely unable to meet the demands for pastors, these have been supplied from Germany. The

bitterness of the Church of Rome against these German ministers is very great, and every hindrance is thrown by the Government officials, too often willing tools of the priests, in the way of the desired naturalisation. Young ministers have often to wait for years for the permission to take up their duties permanently, and then on the most frivolous excuse, or without any assigned reason, their naturalisation is refused. In the year 1904 only two German pastors received the necessary permission to settle in Austria, while seven were required to leave. If a pastor proves himself specially influential in leading Roman Catholics to the Gospel, he is almost certain to be refused citizen rights. On the other hand, the German priests and friars, whom the priests have found it necessary to introduce to combat the movement, receive their naturalisation without delay. This policy, which hinders the work of the new Protestant congregations seriously, and is making it difficult to obtain pastors in sufficient numbers to cope with the growing membership of the Church, is, however, in many instances proving a two-edged weapon. In several cases a congregation which has in this way been deprived of a pastor whom they esteemed, and to whose permanent installation among them they were looking forward, only to find that their expectations were frustrated by the intrigues of the priests, has found itself increased in numbers by accessions from those whose eyes were opened by this species of persecution.

CHAPTER VIII

THE "LOS VON ROM" MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA

IV. SOME OF THE LEADERS

LIKE the Reformation of the sixteenth century in Austria, this "New Reformation" has not produced any great genius by whom it is led and whose influence guides and controls it. But it has brought to the front several striking personalities of great interest, without a notice of whom no account of the movement could be considered at all adequate. I propose in this chapter to refer briefly to four of these: Braeunlich, Eisenkolb, Fraiss, and Rosegger.

The most important personal influence in this great Evangelical Revival in Austria in its early stages was Pfarrer Lic. theol. P. Braeunlich,¹ formerly Lutheran pastor in Wetzdorf, near Dornburg on the Saale, in Thuringia, now General Secretary of the Evangelischer Bund. In the introductory pages of his pamphlet *Das Fortschreiten der Los von Rom-Bewegung in Oesterreich*

¹ No one can be thoroughly informed on the subject of the Evangelical Revival in Austria who has not read the reports published by Braeunlich in his series of booklets entitled *Berichte über den Fortgang der Los von Rom-Bewegung*, in which he and his collaborators give accounts of the various recent movements of revolt against Rome.

(1. *Boehmen*) Braeunlich tells us how his interest in the religious condition of Austria was awakened during a tour to Trieste in the year 1895. He then saw evidence of the discontent of many serious-minded men with the spiritual tyranny of Rome, and of their half-conscious yearning after the freedom of Protestantism which they saw their brother Germans of the North enjoying. Continuing his close study of the state of religious feeling in Roman Catholic countries, when the Leo Taxil swindle collapsed in the year 1897 he published an account of it in his *Der neueste Teufelsschwindel (Leo Taxils) in der römisch-katholischen Kirche*. In this he made a direct appeal to independent, thoughtful Roman Catholics to turn away from Rome to Protestantism, in order to put an end to the old unchristian hatred which was fostered by the Pope, and to the stupefying of the people which the Pope furthered. This appeal met with some response in Austrian Roman Catholic circles, and brought him into still closer connection with liberal-minded Romanists there.

In the spring of the following year he published the first of his *Berichte über den Fortgang der Los von Rom-Bewegung, Befreiung vom Papsttum*. This little book produced a considerable effect in Austria. In September of that year, at the Sedan festival in Plauen, he met a number of Austrian leaders, and had thus the opportunity for a thorough discussion with them of the religious situation in their country.

This interest in Roman Catholic questions and this connection with men of influence in Austria led to his appointment as a deputy of the Evangelical Bund, to visit that country and examine the state of things on the spot,

and report to the Bund. Into this welcome task he threw himself with great earnestness, and in the month of November, 1898, he went to Bohemia. Here he was surprised and gladdened by the depth of the longing for the Gospel which he found everywhere. Wherever he went he had conferences with leading men of the Roman Catholic faith, explaining to them the principles of Protestantism, and urging them to put themselves at the head of an evangelical "Los von Rom" movement. Often a great part of the night would be spent discussing religious questions and considering whether the time had come to call upon the people to return to the faith of their evangelical forefathers. Almost everyone acknowledged the time must come; but many considered it had not yet arrived. The spirit of the people was so crushed by Romanism, and their disbelief in religion in every form in many cases so deep, they had not the strength to burst their chains. To the earnestness, the evangelical fervour, and the warm, inspiring eloquence of Braeunlich it is chiefly due that many of these leaders were encouraged to take an immediate stand for spiritual freedom.

At one of these conferences, held at Teplitz on the 11th November, 1898, before Schönerer had issued his famous appeal for 10,000 seceders, it was agreed to begin an evangelical revolt from Rome. Two or three years afterwards, a man who attended one of these meetings described it in an article in the *Vienna Zeit.* In a passage too long to be quoted here in full, he says: "The meeting began about eight o'clock in the evening. The discussion went on earnestly till one o'clock at night without a single one of us leaving.

We had never experienced such a thing at political meetings. Since then more than two and a half years have passed, and I still remember it with unconcealed joy as if it were yesterday. Pastor Braeunlich spoke. . . . We were all carried away: one after the other stood up and made a speech, as well as he could. We were all caught by an inspiration and an energy that carried us away."

In December, Braeunlich made similar tours in other parts of Austria with similar results. His appointment as Secretary of the Evangelical Bund's Committee for the Furtherance of the Evangelical Church of Austria followed, and in this capacity his labours for the new movement have been constant and unwearied.

In carrying on his work as Secretary of this Committee he has made many tours through the Crownlands of Austria to stir up the new brethren there, and to guide them into prudent and practical work for the upbuilding of the Protestant Church. The need for his earnest and wise guidance was very real. At the beginning of the movement there was not a strong inclination for connection with the existing Protestant Churches in Austria. Many influences, some of which have already been referred to, led to this state of things. Many thought the Old Testament too "Jewish." Still more feared they might be subjected to bureaucracy and the tyranny of dogma. They were on the point of forming a free German National Church, which would probably have borne the impress of the political circumstances with which the movement has been to some extent associated. At this point the movement came under the powerful influence of Braeunlich, and

was guided into wiser and safer courses, and brought into connection with the Evangelical Church of Austria. In these ways he won a marvellous influence over multitudes of Austrians, and gained for the Gospel many who were entirely alienated from religion. Dr. Eisenkolb wrote to a friend in Saxony: "Pastor Braeunlich has taken us by storm." The wife of a member of Parliament wrote to Braeunlich: "What we were offered by Rome was always a stone for bread. Then you came. My husband and I were moved and filled with enthusiasm by your teaching, and we recognised that this was the right faith, which we could offer to our starving people." So great is the eagerness on the part of many Austrians to hear him, that when he is announced to address a meeting in Saxony or Silesia near the Austrian frontier, men will sometimes go hours' and even days' journeys to be present. A young Austrian artist, formerly a social democrat and an atheist, has been known to go a nine-hours' journey on foot to see him face to face and to speak with him.

It can be easily understood that one who has given such an impetus to the Evangelical Movement has succeeded in exciting the bitter hatred of the Roman Catholic Church authorities and their henchmen, the clerical powers in Government circles. In ultramontane newspapers and pamphlets he is a frequent object of denunciation. In Bavaria, which is predominantly Romanist, a lecture delivered by him in Munich led to stormy scenes in the Landstag (local parliament), and to intrigues at the Court. Three state attorneys were employed by the Government to prosecute him, in order

to have him imprisoned. But the Courts dismissed the case.

In the year 1900 he was in Moravia to stimulate the movement. In Brünn he held a meeting in the beginning of July 1900, in which, speaking on a text in the Gospel of Matthew, he exhorted his friends not to allow themselves to be embittered by the insults and hostility of their opponents, or to repay evil with evil, but to overcome evil with good. "Only by love," he said to them, "shall we conquer. The heart of our people will turn to that one of the two contending Churches which it is convinced has the greatest love." Next morning he was arrested by the police in his hotel while he was still in bed. The next evening he was taken across the Austrian frontier and by a police decree forbidden ever to enter Austrian territory again. No charge has been stated against him, and no response has been given to his repeated attempts since then to obtain his rights. The police authorities would hardly care to put the truth into writing, that he had been banished from the country because he had interested himself in the cause of the Protestant Church.

As far as possible he continues to work in the old way. He frequently holds meetings at convenient places on the Austrian frontier, and Austrians come long journeys to attend these meetings and to hear one who loves their country and their cause so well. No one has understood the movement so well as he, and has known so well how to guide it. Those with whom he came into contact in Austria in the early stages of the movement saw this, and put themselves at once under his leadership. As early as the 6th of February,

1899, Dr. Eisenkolb on behalf of his fellow-countrymen formally offered him the leadership. He wrote: "It is absolutely necessary that you place yourself at the head of the Evangelical Movement and take the whole work for the Ostmark in hand. Come and be the Reformer of the Ostmark." He carries on an enormous correspondence with Austria, encouraging, directing, guiding those who have come out from the Church of Rome or who are on the point of doing so. As Secretary of the Committee for the Furtherance of the Evangelical Church in Austria, he is in constant contact with the large number of new pastors who have been added to the ministry of that Church and are partly maintained by his Committee. Throughout Germany and Switzerland he has taken frequent lecturing tours to awaken the interest of the Protestants in the movement, and has formed auxiliary committees all over these countries to assist in raising funds for the support of the ministers sent to Austria. It is a matter of supreme importance that the Protestants of Austria found at the critical moment a leader so warm-hearted, energetic, eloquent, and wise.

Second only to Braeunlich as a personal force in the beginning of the Austrian Evangelical Movement, and now the most prominent figure in it, is Dr. Anton Eisenkolb, an able advocate and a member of the Austrian Parliament. Himself a convert from the Church of Rome, he took from the first an active part in advancing the movement. Though a prominent politician and an active leader of the German national party in Bohemia, he saw clearly that the "Los von

Rom" Movement was essentially a religious movement, and must remain so, if it was to be successful. At the meeting in Vienna on the 15th January, 1899, already referred to, in which under the leadership of Schönerer, the leader of the national party, it was decided to raise the cry, "Los von Rom," Dr. Eisenkolb took an active part, and warned the meeting against the danger of losing sight of the moral and religious motives of the revolt. True to the spirit of this appeal, he has ever kept the moral and religious aspects of the movement in the foreground.

His first appearance as an advocate of such a movement was decidedly dramatic. The jubilee of the Karbitz Rifle Guild was being held one day in the year 1898. In accordance with Roman Catholic custom, the festival was introduced with a mass in the square in front of the church. In the midst stood a richly decorated altar, at which the priest in full canonicals celebrated mass in the presence of many hundreds of Roman Catholics. When the service was concluded, Dr. Eisenkolb stepped forward as the orator of the festival, and began somewhat as follows: "The Guild whose jubilee we celebrate was founded by Protestants, the house of God before which we stand was a Protestant church, the ground under your feet covers the bodies of your Protestant forefathers." And then he went on to compare the past and the present, drawing the conclusion that their future could only be saved by a return to the evangelical faith of their ancestors. When he had finished, a storm of applause greeted his words.

Eisenkolb was naturally one of those whom Braeunlich visited in his tour of investigation in November

1898. To him Eisenkolb said: "I have engaged a hall for evangelical services. At Christmas, when the Romanists go to mass, we wish to go to a German service. I give you my word that it will be well attended. You procure us the preacher." Braeunlich promised that at Christmas they would have a preacher. On Christmas the first Protestant service was held in Karbitz, and was crowded, while the mass in the Roman Catholic Church was badly attended. Since then Protestant services have been held there regularly, with remarkable results.

Eisenkolb's own words show the spirit in which he has worked for the regeneration of his fellow-countrymen. "We can only win the people by offering them a better religion than that in which they were brought up. From now on we must strive to bring our German families into the existent Protestant Churches to be edified. Excellent sermons must be delivered. In places where there are no Protestant Churches at present, clergymen of our faith must hold services at least once a month, better still every week. With this object the Protestants of every district must be gathered together to form a nucleus. In Karbitz there are, for example, over twenty families. If the people do not hear the Gospel preached we cannot win them for it." These words describe the policy that has been adopted in Austria, to gather together as far as possible all the scattered Protestants, whether a "Los von Rom" movement has appeared in the district or not, to provide them with services, so that they may be kept from lapsing into the surrounding mass of Romanism, and to make them the starting-point for

work among Roman Catholics when the opportunity presents itself.

Eisenkolb has placed his great powers of speech at the service of the movement all over German Bohemia. He frequently holds "Los von Rom" meetings, which are attended by crowds of Roman Catholics, in which he exposes the errors and weaknesses of the Roman system, shows its effect on the nation, and appeals to his hearers to free themselves from its tyranny. Such meetings are usually followed by numerous intimations of secession from Romanism to Protestantism.

In the Austrian Parliament Dr. Eisenkolb is the recognised champion of Protestantism, whose interests he guards with a watchful eye. It would be difficult to find more trenchant and eloquent denunciations of the immorality of Jesuit teaching than the speeches of Eisenkolb in the Vienna Parliament House. He has evidently made a close study of their works and ways, and shows clearly how these are accomplishing the ruin of the countries that harbour them. The legal acumen of Eisenkolb has discovered a plan of meeting the policy of confiscation of Protestant tracts, and has served the cause of the movement in a very effective, if somewhat amusing way. Almost every tract issued by the Evangelical Bund that is seized by the police is delivered by Eisenkolb as a speech in his place in Parliament, and is in the ordinary course sent at the cost of the Government to every member of both Houses in the shorthand Report of the proceedings, and can then be reprinted as extracts from the Minutes of the Reichsrat. In this way a wide circulation is secured for them, and classes are reached at Government

expense to which access could scarcely be obtained in any other way.

In Styria two men stand out prominently before the public on account of the part they have played in the "Los von Rom" Movement. These are Karl Fraiss and Peter Rosegger. Fraiss¹ is an advocate, to whom the movement in Styria owes more than to any other single person. In the course of his tours in 1898, Pastor Braeunlich came to Graz, the capital of Styria, and had a confidential conference with a number of leaders of German national sentiment, many of them highly educated men, teachers and professors. The most diverse opinions were expressed. Some said they would give anything to make Styria Protestant. But one of them expressed what was probably the opinion of many when he said: "This is no time for religious movements. It comes three centuries too late. Then people had a mind for religious questions. To-day natural science has taken the place of religion; the need for religion has died out." The outlook in Styria under these circumstances did not seem specially bright. But among those who took only a slight part in the discussions that evening there was one who was destined to prove that the fears expressed were groundless. Two years before, Fraiss had become a Protestant, and had recognised in his new faith the power that could save his fellow-countrymen. He had been studying the religious state of Styria till he knew thoroughly

¹ On Fraiss, see Braeunlich, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Steiermark*, pp. 8-14; and Wegener, *Morgendämmerung in der Steiermark*, pp. 16-19.

the position of Protestantism in it, and where even the isolated Protestants were to be found, and had marked on a map the result of his investigations. The day after the meeting referred to he visited Braeunlich in his hotel, and afterwards had another meeting called. The outcome of further discussion was the conviction that it was useless to talk of organising a committee to agitate for a "Los von Rom" movement, but that all like-minded men should be induced to co-operate in the work, and that they should set earnestly to work to instruct the people in the teachings of the Protestant Churches. For this purpose it was necessary that Protestant books and New Testaments should be widely circulated. In this work they obtained valuable assistance from the Evangelical Bund. Many tracts, pamphlets, and Testaments went to Styria, and found grateful readers. Whenever any of these Protestant tracts or pamphlets fell into the hands of a state attorney, they were declared to be attacks on the Roman Catholic Church, and confiscated. Fraiss took the lead in this work of distributing literature and of getting into touch with those who were weary of Romanism.

To secure a wider extension of the work, a confidential circular was issued by these workers for the spread of the Evangelical Movement, urging those who sympathised with it to more energetic action. Unfortunately, through the carelessness of a friend in Germany, one of these found its way into the clerical press, in which the greatest possible indignation was expressed, and the punishment of Fraiss demanded. Legal proceedings failed at this point, but the

authorities learned of the existence of a body of workers for the evangelical cause, and seized the first opportunity of putting law in motion against it. The opportunity soon came. In April 1899, Pastor Everling of Krefeld, while making a tour in Austria to study the movement, was arrested in Vienna, and "in the interests of public order and security" expelled from the country. Among his papers the police found notes of the progress of the movement in Bohemia, and a letter from Fraiss to Superintendent Meyer, the President of the Committee of the Evangelical Bund for the Furtherance of the Evangelical Church in Austria, describing the work in Styria. The result was that Fraiss was arrested and imprisoned on a charge of being a member of a secret society and of distributing forbidden books. Two days later he was dismissed from the important legal appointment he held, on the ground of being a dangerous agitator against the State and Dynasty. When the trial came off, he was acquitted of being a member of a secret society, but was found guilty of distributing forbidden books, and fined £10. But his most severe loss was his dismissal from office and deprivation of the salary derived from it; for it was acknowledged on all hands that he was a most capable jurist, and in the natural course of things would soon have been promoted to the Bench. But however great the loss his trial and dismissal involved for himself, it was great gain for the "Los von Rom" Movement. Released from official duties, he gave his whole time and energy to the promotion of the interests of the movement. In October 1900 he obtained a municipal appointment in the city of Graz.

But all his spare time was still devoted to the advancement of the Gospel in his native land. "It is refreshing to see him in his office, from which as from a high watch-tower he looks over the whole land, here observing the feeling of a town or a village, there discovering individual men or women who are suffering the oppression of Rome and are asking after the truth. He knows nearly all the scattered, the solitary, and even the secret Protestants, whether they live in the bustle of a fashionable Spa or on the top of the Sulzberg, and where one of them reaches forth a hand for deliverance from the imprisonment and darkness of Rome he seizes it, and helps with word and deed. And when it is time for a minister to take up the work, he knows it, and gives the sign, and asks for labourers for the harvest. He has been called, not without reason, the Secular Superintendent of Styria." "Fraiss has gathered about him capable, enthusiastic young men from all classes and political camps, who help him in the great work of deliverance, and labour for the spread of Protestantism in Styria with a zeal and a devotion that only critical epochs produce."¹

In the autumn of 1904, Fraiss resigned his municipal appointment in order to give his whole time to the promotion of the movement—another signal proof of the earnestness and self-denial with which he has devoted himself to the spiritual welfare of his fellow-countrymen.

It seems strange to speak of one who is still a Roman Catholic as a leader of a "Los von Rom" movement, and yet no other word will correctly describe the position

¹ Wegener, *Morgendämmerung in der Steiermark*, 18-19.

of Peter Rosegger¹ in Styria during the past six years. As a charming poet and novelist he has won a high place for himself in modern German literature. He was born in the Semmering Alps, above Krieglach, not far from the town of Mürzzuschlag, in the north-east of Styria, of humble, pious, Roman Catholic parents. In his childhood and youth he passed through the hard school of poverty as a farm servant and country tailor, before he fought his way to the position he now occupies. His deep-rooted reverence for the Roman Catholic heritage from his ancestors and his natural love of art make Roman Catholic worship, with its richly decorated churches, its brilliant vestments, and its often intoxicating music, dear to him. He loves that Church as the "cherisher of art," "as the only place where the highland peasantry can come into contact with art," as the community in which his parents lived and died, in which he still believes religion to be possible, and in which he hopes it may yet revive. But he is not blind to its faults, and does not hesitate to criticise its priests and their teaching in very plain and often biting sarcasm. With his deep love of the poor and of the German race, he is repelled by the tyrannical and treacherous attitude assumed

¹ On Rosegger, see Braeunlich, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Steiermark*, pp. 15-27; Wegener, *Morgendämmerung in der Steiermark*, pp. 79-86; Kappstein, *Peter Rosegger*. Rosegger's religious views and his relation to the "Los von Rom" Movement may be learned from his *Mein Himmelreich*. He gives sketches of his boyhood and youth in his *Waldheimat* and *Mein Weltleben*. His works deserve to be better known in this country. He has recently published a beautifully written life of Christ, *I.N.R.I. Frohe Botschaft eines armen Sünders*, which will probably lead many Roman Catholics to the Gospels.

towards them by the Church to which he belongs. To himself the "Los von Rom" Movement has brought deep spiritual quickening; and in his own person he has learned the intolerance of Rome, when a whole issue of his paper *Heimgarten* was confiscated because it contained an article from his pen in which he tried to portray the person of Christ as it presented itself to him. And he acknowledges that it is in the Protestant Churches he finds truest edification. Take, for instance, this extract from his book, *Mein Himmelsreich*:—"I have often by word of mouth, and also in writing, tried to express to Roman Catholic clergymen my views on the Gospel, but if they entered into conversation at all they had recourse at once to the commands of the Church. Readers of my works do not need to be reminded of my attitude to Catholic worship. Discussions on the Gospel would have helped me. But with priests I never got to that point; they referred me to their preaching, at which no discussion could be carried on, or to the confessional, where no objections are tolerated: beyond that they always evaded discussion, as if they were not themselves informed, or as if they did not consider a layman worthy to speak with them on such lofty matters. There have been times when I longed for a conversation with them, but they have always treated me with suspicion, and nothing but suspicion. They have always looked on me as one who was wandering and lost, but none of them came to seek me lovingly. On the other hand, I have been stimulated and uplifted in conversation with Protestant clergymen. Without protestantising, they have shown themselves accessible, and ready to speak with a Catholic in a kindly and

earnest way about our Saviour and about His divine teachings, which become ever deeper and loftier the more we occupy ourselves with them. . . . There is a severe conflict going on in me. . . . I am from my ancestors a Catholic; I acknowledge and honour so much in the Catholic Church: it is the home of my childhood memories, of my inclination to mysticism, and my sensuous joy. And yet I am drawn to the Protestants, because among them, according to my experience and conviction, the teaching of Christ is proclaimed more purely than it is generally in Catholic Churches. Especially in our days an evangelical sermon is a real refreshing. It is very seldom that a Protestant preacher scolds, blusters, incites, curses other confessions, and damns their souls. If he did, I would run out of a Protestant Church as fast as out of a Catholic one. It would be very hard on me to leave the Catholic Church, and yet I have very often to take the side of the Protestants, and support their Christian (though not perhaps their political) efforts however and wherever I can. I am ever waiting for the Catholic Church to turn aside more from worldliness and power and politics, and apply itself to the teaching of Jesus. Meanwhile I must reconcile it with my conscience to attend, as a Catholic, Protestant services to obtain their comfort and strength for life."¹ The writer of such words as these is a Protestant, whatever he may call himself and whatever his ecclesiastical connection may be, and the influence of Rosegger has during these stirring years been a great help to the Evangelical Revival.

¹ Rosegger, *Mein Himmelreich*, pp. 315-17.

But he has not confined his sympathy to words. When the "Los von Rom" Movement began in Mürz-zuschlag and the need of a church for the Protestants was felt, Rosegger threw himself into the work of helping them with all his heart. He wrote an urgent appeal for subscriptions, and sent it to every German paper that would insert it. When he issued it in the beginning of January 1900, he said he would be to blame if he did not obtain £300 or £400. By the beginning of May about £2700 had been received. On the 17th of June the foundation stone of the Heilandskirche (Saviour's Church) was laid, and on the 18th of the following November the first "Los von Rom" church in Styria was dedicated, largely through the sympathy and energy of a Roman Catholic.

CHAPTER IX

THE "LOS VON ROM" MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA

V. THE MOVEMENT AMONG THE CZECHS.¹

THE most successful worker in the cause of Protestantism among the Czechs, the Slav portion of the population of Bohemia, during the past century was Pastor Friedrich Wilhelm Kossuth, who worked with great success in Prague. He became in the year 1847 the first pastor of the Reformed Church in that city, and preached with such zeal that many Roman Catholics attended his services in spite of the law that then forbade their presence. When the Revolution of the following year brought greater freedom, still larger crowds of Romanists heard his sermons. The priests denounced him and those who listened to him, but this only sent still larger numbers to hear him. Many began openly to secede and join his Church. Jesuit missionaries, the confessional, slander, and all other available means were adopted, but proved ineffective in

¹ See Braeunlich, *Los von Rom-Kämpfe im Böhmerland*, 1904; Echternacht, *Aus der Morgenröte der Los von Rom-Bewegung in Böhmen*, 1904; *Bericht über die Hauptversammlung des Evangelischen Vereins der Gustav Adolf-Stiftung*, 1902, pp. 198-213; Witz, *Die Evangelischen Kirchen Augsburgs und Helvidischer Bekenntnisses*, 1898.

stopping the growth of the congregation. In five years it increased, by the accession of Roman Catholics, from about 500 souls to 1400. His influence was still further extended by a paper he edited, and by evangelical tracts written by him which had a large circulation. The thoroughly Biblical character of his preaching and his talent for organisation established his congregation so firmly that when times of persecution came they could not destroy it. Four priests were received by him into the Protestant Church. When the fifth announced his conversion, the patience of the priests was exhausted, and they got the police to expel the convert, because such a scandal could not be endured.

The plots of the priests at length succeeded. In November 1851, Kossuth was struck down with a very severe attack of typhus. In March 1852, while he was still too ill to leave the house, a decree of the military commander of the city proclaimed that anyone found in possession of revolutionary or inflammatory books should immediately give them up to the police, otherwise the possessor would be punished with imprisonment for a period of from one month to one year, and anyone distributing them would receive five years' penal servitude. The decree was intended for Kossuth, and was applied to him alone. His house was searched, but no inflammatory or revolutionary literature could be found except the Bible, a few books of devotion, a Catechism, and such like. However, he was arrested after a few days, and thrown into a dungeon with one small window barred and closed with boards. He had an iron bed with a little straw on it, a table and a chair.

He was entirely excluded from intercourse with the outside world. His aged mother called to see him, but was not allowed to do so, and she died before his release. His wife, to whom he was married a month before his illness, was refused admission to him. His first son was born, and he heard of it accidentally in prison. A year passed, and he inquired why there was yet no trial, and the answer was that his written sermons had to be read through, and that required time. Four months more passed, and a friend asked why there was such delay, and he was informed that it was Kossuth's own fault: if he would resign his office, he would be released at once. But as this would have implied a confession of guilt, he refused. In July 1853 he was transferred to Klagenfurt, in Carinthia, without being allowed to bid his wife or child farewell. After a time his family were allowed to live there with him, and a small allowance given for their support. After several years, he was offered permission to return to Prague on conditions that were impossible. So he had nothing left but to leave his country and try to make a living elsewhere. At length he was chosen pastor of a congregation in Germany, and after ministering to several churches he died in 1893.

The expulsion of Kossuth was a severe blow to the progress of Czech Protestantism, for he had all the gifts that seemed calculated to ensure the continuance of a revolt from Rome and the rapid advance of the Gospel. His expulsion, by arbitrary action on the part of the Government, under a Constitution that granted equal rights to all creeds, shows the great difficulties under which the Protestant Churches laboured. But

the effect of his brief ministry in Prague did not pass away. His own congregation continued to grow, and he also gave a powerful stimulus to the better organisation of the Czech Protestants, which made their subsequent progress possible.

Steady, quiet growth in face of difficulties has been the history of Czech Protestantism since his time. In the sixties a revived energy was shown, and there were considerable accessions from the Roman Catholic Church. The opportunity for great progress seems to have been presented when the infallibility of the Pope was proclaimed, and lively indignation was evoked in Austria. The Austrian Government decided that this decree so altered the status of one of the contracting parties that it cancelled the Concordat with the Vatican. A large number of Bohemians joined the Old Catholic Church. But Protestantism failed to take advantage of its opportunity. From 1881 to 1902 the progress of the Czech churches is indicated by the following figures : in 1881 there were 95 congregations and 22 preaching stations ; in 1902, 127 congregations and 155 preaching stations, an increase of 32 congregations and 133 stations ; in 1849, when real permission for expansion was granted, there were only 38 congregations. There are now 143 ministers. The 60,000 who declared themselves Protestants at the issue of the Edict of Toleration in 1781 have grown to 152,074, not including a few small Protestant denominations whom the statistics class together as confessionless. There has been an extensive emigration to America, where there are about half a million Czechs, among whom there are 68 Protestant congregations with

Czech ministers. The progress of Czech Protestantism is much hindered by the poverty of the people, who can only pay on an average about £40 a year to their minister.

Those who are most intimately acquainted with the condition of the Czech population are of opinion that it is on the verge of a movement similar in character and extent to the "Los von Rom" movement among the Austrian Germans. All the factors that produced that movement seem to be present. The Czechs were forced violently back into the Roman Church, and there is a widespread and deeply rooted hatred of that Church in the hearts of a large proportion of them. But the clerical party have used the bitter national animosity between the Germans and the Czechs to prevent any mass movement of the Czechs toward Protestantism. They have represented that Prussia has designs on the independence of Bohemia, that Protestantism is German, and that to adopt it would be to surrender their Czech nationality. They have drawn attention to the fact that the "Los von Rom" Movement has strengthened the national feeling of the Germans of Bohemia, and have taught the Czechs to conclude that it must therefore weaken theirs. In this way the flame of racial bitterness has been fanned by those who ought to be a healing influence.

One of the most remarkable and hopeful factors in the present situation in Bohemia is the revival of interest in Hus. To turn away attention from the Bohemian Reformer, the Roman Catholic Church put forward as the national hero and saint, a certain St. John Nepomuk. But this colourless and semi-mythical saint failed to

take hold on the imagination of the Czechs, and their hearts turned to John Hus. The enthusiasm for Hus has been growing in strength for years, and reached a climax in July 1903, when the foundation stone of a national monument in his honour was laid in the principal square in Prague, beside one of the Virgin Mary which was erected in the seventeenth century to commemorate the victory of the Church of Rome over Protestantism. There he is to stand in the garb in which he was burned at the stake, to remind the people of the treatment their national hero received from their Church. The priests protested in vain against the erection of this monument, and the evening before the foundation stone was laid the archbishop and a number of the leading priests and clerically disposed laymen left the city, rather than be present on the occasion.

When the clerical party failed to turn away the national mind from Hus, they tried to make the people look on him simply as a national and not a religious hero, and make Hus celebrations assertions of national and not religious independence. The ceremony of laying the foundation of the monument was made entirely national, and the religious side of the life and work of Hus was ignored. The absurdity of this position caused an immediate and widespread protest. The Prague Protestants had, on the evening before, protested against such Hus celebrations. Thirty-three students' unions and the editors of the two students' papers published a repudiation of such festivals. "We wish," they said, "that the great Reformer should be celebrated honestly and without lies, and that Hus festivals should work with a purifying influence on Czech life." The

controversy on the matter went on vigorously in the newspapers for some time. The Protestants joined heartily in it, and their position has been strengthened.

To make their position on this and other questions clearer, a great demonstration was held in Prague on the 28th September, 1903. At this meeting, attended by 2000 Czech Protestants, they discussed their relation to the nation at large and to foreigners, to the various political parties, and to the German "Los von Rom" Movement. A series of important resolutions was passed, in which they asserted their devotion to their race; they insisted on their right to keep up intercourse with foreign Protestant Churches as members of one body. They asserted that they viewed the "Los von Rom" Movement not as political and national, but as religious, and welcomed it among their German fellow-countrymen, and hoped for a similar movement among themselves; they repudiated the charge of clericalism sometimes brought against them, and asserted that Protestantism is inherently an anti-clerical institution; and they proclaimed that their endeavour was to live a noble, morally strenuous life, and so lead the nation to the light of the Gospel, and build it up on the foundation of the Bohemian Reformation.

To further the cause of Protestantism, a "Union of Constance" similar to the Evangelischer Bund of the Germans has been established, and an International Committee for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Czechs has been founded. It is hoped that this will call forth increased interest in the Protestantism of the Czech people, and bring substantial help for its promotion.

CHAPTER X

THE "LOS VON ROM" MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA

VI. SURVEY OF RESULTS

LET us now take a brief survey of the results of the movement. In Austria, when a man who is connected with a Church wishes to change his religion and definitely connect himself with another denomination, he has to adopt a prescribed course. He must intimate his secession to the priest, if he is a Roman Catholic; to the pastor, if he is a Protestant. Till he connects himself with a congregation of a Church recognised by the State, he remains confessionless (*Konfessionslos*). When he joins another denomination, the fact is officially recorded. In this way we know the statistics of those who have taken the step of distinctly disconnecting themselves from their previous Church connection and associating themselves with another Church recognised by the State. The Churches whose statistics are thus publicly acknowledged and issued by the Government are the Roman Catholic Church, the Old Catholic Church, and the Protestant Churches adhering to the Augsburg and the Helvetic Confessions. The State takes no cog-

nisance of those who join the Moravian Brethren and other small Protestant Churches that exist in Austria. So far as the State is concerned, these are "confessionless."

The following are the numbers of those who since the beginning of this movement have enrolled themselves as members of congregations holding the two confessions named—

In the year 1898	.	.	.	.	1,598
" " 1899	.	.	.	.	6,385
" " 1900	.	.	.	.	5,058
" " 1901	.	.	.	.	6,639
" " 1902	.	.	.	.	4,624
" " 1903	.	.	.	.	4,510
" " 1904	.	.	.	.	4,362
Total	.	.	.	.	33,176

To these figures must be added those who have joined the Moravian Brethren, the congregations connected with the American Mission, and other smaller denominations. Of these there are no complete statistics, but the number for the same period (autumn of 1898 till 31st December 1904) may be put down at between 4000 and 5000. So that probably about 38,000 Roman Catholics have, in the period referred to, become Protestants.

To get at the full results of the movement in secessions from the Roman Church, we must still further add the accessions to the Old Catholic Church, which probably amount to nearly 12,000. Thus in a little more than six years about 50,000 Roman Catholics have seceded to either the Protestant or Old Catholic Churches.

But the complete results are even greater than this. According to Austrian law, the religion of children between the ages of seven and fourteen cannot be officially altered. So that when parents secede from the Church of Rome their children between these years remain on the books of that Church, though they are in attendance on Protestant services and are receiving an evangelical education. These must amount to several thousands.

In addition to all these there are many thousands of nominal Roman Catholics who are in regular attendance on Protestant services, and for all intents and purposes Protestants, but who are kept back from publicly registering themselves as such on account of the persecution to which they would be subject. To become a Protestant often means dismissal from private or public service, or the loss of the means of earning their daily bread.

Another evidence of the progress of the movement is to be found in the erection of the new churches required for the new accessions to the Protestant Churches. In the year 1808 four places of worship were erected; in 1809, five; in 1810, eleven; in 1811, twelve; in 1812, twenty-one; in 1813, seventeen; and in 1814, twenty-one; in all, 91. Of these about a score are *Betsäle* (Prayer Halls), as the Germans call them—that is, buildings used for public worship, but not sufficiently ecclesiastical in appearance to justify the name of churches. The remainder are churches varying in size and style according to the size and means of the congregation. For the erection of these the new congregations have subscribed self-sacrificingly,

and generous help has been given by the well-known Gustav Adolf-Verein, a society established in Germany in the year 1832 to aid scattered Protestant communities in Roman Catholic districts and countries.

To minister to these new congregations, and to the new preaching stations in connection with the old congregations, a large addition has been made to the number of workers in this fruitful field. About one hundred additional pastors are now at work in Austria ministering to the new Protestants. These are maintained largely by grants from the Evangelischer Bund in Germany, which threw itself earnestly into the support of this movement from the beginning, and without whose aid, humanly speaking, these results would have been much smaller.

The movement is not allowed to stagnate. Every year new preaching stations are opened, and the Gospel preached in places where it has not been heard since it was crushed out in the seventeenth century. In many places where there is yet no Protestant Church, sites have been procured and arrangements are being made to provide a place of worship for those who are breaking away from Rome.

The result of the movement is also seen in the new hope and life it has infused into the Protestants in all parts of the Austrian Crownlands. They are no longer despised and neglected. They have come to a clear consciousness of their position and responsibilities. And the population has become conscious also of the existence and meaning of Protestantism

in a way unknown before. The subject is discussed wherever men meet. Religious questions are frequently debated in the Imperial Parliament, and in the streets and markets and restaurants.

The forces of the Protestant Churches have also been roused to organise themselves better for the work that has been put to their hands. A Pastors' Union has been formed for mutual help, and has enrolled a large proportion of the ministers of Austria. An "Evangelischer Bund" on the lines of the German Society of that name has been formed to further the aims of the Protestant Churches in Austria, and is growing rapidly in numbers. Many new branches of the Gustav Adolf-Verein have been formed to aid the work of that great Society. A large increase has been made to the number of deaconesses and other Christian workers labouring in the various departments of the Church's work. And a new stimulus has been given to philanthropic work, such as the relief of the aged and the support of orphans.

It may be said that the statistics given at the beginning of this chapter show that the number of conversions during the past three years was less than during the previous three. But those who are familiar with the facts would probably say that the smaller numbers of the later years are more satisfactory than the larger ones that preceded them. In the earlier years of the movement the political element was more pronounced than in the later years, and a larger proportion of the converts were then influenced by political considerations in changing their creed. Since the political element, which can never be altogether

eliminated from a revolt from the Church of Rome, has receded into the background, the converts are more fully pervaded with an evangelical spirit, and will be more efficient workers in building up a strong and active evangelical community.

CHAPTER XI

THE "LOS VON ROM" MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

IT is not in Austria alone that the German people have in recent years shown a disposition to break loose from the chains of the Papacy. We have seen in an earlier chapter that there were signs of an intellectual revolt against Romanism in the ranks of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany. The discontent with the situation in which they found themselves as compared with Protestants was expressed by Schell in the work referred to. But his is not the only voice that has warned the Church of Rome in Germany of the need of reconsidering its position. An earnest protest has been raised against extreme anti-Protestantism by Dr. Sickenberger in the second part of his *Kritische Gedanken über die innerkirchliche Lage*. He acknowledges that Luther's efforts for reform were needed, though he believes the Reformer went too far, and threw away the good with the evil. He acknowledges that Protestants are repelled by extreme Catholic literature and practices. He denounces the excessive appreciation of the sacerdotal office. He disapproves of the attitude of the Church to the popular reading of the Scriptures. He speaks strongly of the frequent reception of the sacraments of confession and com-

munion on purely mechanical grounds, when there is no really serious disposition. He also criticises severely the attitude often assumed by Roman Catholics on the subject of celibacy and marriage. And he accuses the Church of simony on the ground of the payments made for masses.¹

A good deal of attention was also excited in the autumn of the year 1904 by the publication by Professor Merkle of his pamphlet *Reformationsgeschichtliche Streitfragen*. The author, a Roman Catholic professor in the University of Würzburg, protests earnestly against the extravagances to which ultramontane Roman Catholicism is drifting, and the suspicion in which those are held who strive to adhere to the accepted dogmas of the Church. He also expresses his strong disapproval of the method in which controversy against Protestants is carried on by some Roman Catholics, and especially by Freiherr von Berlichingen and Denifle. The latter had made himself notorious by the shameful slanders he had published against Luther. It is said that Professor Merkle was severely taken to task by his bishop, but that it had no effect on him. The incident is one of many which indicate the restiveness of the more liberal-minded Roman Catholics in Germany under the efforts made by the hierarchy to suppress freedom of thought.²

But the hope of a movement toward greater

¹ See articles in *Die Wartburg*, 13th and 20th Nov. 1903.

² See *Die Wartburg*, 2nd Dec. 1904, article "Reformkatholicismus."

freedom among the Roman Catholics of the German Empire rests on more substantial foundations than these mild protests of the educated classes. Actual secessions from the Church of Rome to the Protestant Churches have been more numerous than is generally known.¹ The following figures are taken from the official statistics of conversions to Protestantism from Roman Catholicism and to Roman Catholicism from Protestantism :—

				From the Roman to the Protestant Church.			From the Protestant to the Roman Church.
1890	.	.	.	3,105	.	.	554
1891	.	.	.	3,202	.	.	442
1892	.	.	.	3,342	.	.	550
1893	.	.	.	3,532	.	.	598
1894	.	.	.	3,821	.	.	659
1895	.	.	.	3,895	.	.	588
1896	.	.	.	4,366	.	.	664
1897	.	.	.	4,469	.	.	705
1898	.	.	.	5,176	.	.	699
1899	.	.	.	5,549	.	.	660
1900	.	.	.	6,143	.	.	701
Total				46,600			6,820

These figures must be somewhat increased, as Hamburg is not included, and some of the smaller national Churches have only recently begun to record secessions from one Church to another. It is evident that the secession from the Roman Catholic Church to the various Protestant Churches has not only been considerable, but is steadily

¹ On this and the following paragraphs see articles in *Die Wartburg*, 20th January, 1905, and following weeks.

increasing, while the secessions from the Protestant Churches to the Roman Catholic are small in proportion and the ratio is decreasing. They were about one in six at the beginning of the period indicated, and one in nine ten years later. While the number of conversions to Romanism is almost stationary, the conversions to Protestantism have almost doubled in a decade.

The lion's share of these figures falls to Prussia. Three years may be taken as illustrative of the movement in that country.

1888	.	.	2157	accessions to Protestantism.	300	secessions.
1894	.	.	3135	" " "	320	" "
1898	.	.	4179	" " "	367	" "

But in proportion to its population the movement has been strongest in the kingdom of Saxony. Although the Royal Family is Roman Catholic, there is no part of the empire in which Protestant feeling is so robust as there. At the date of the last census there were in the kingdom 197,000 Roman Catholics in a total population of 4,202,216, and a large proportion—probably more than half of these—were immigrants from Austria.

In the seventies the gains and losses of the Protestant Church were about equal, but the losses remained almost stationary, while the gains went on steadily increasing up to the year 1897 from 20 to 187. Then in the year 1898, when the "Los von Rom" Movement began in the neighbouring province of Bohemia, in the Austrian Empire, there came a sudden increase to 310 in the number of accessions from the Roman

Church, which went on growing rapidly, till in the year 1903 the accessions amounted to 1266, nearly twenty-five times the amount of its losses to the Church of Rome. This increase in conversions to Protestantism takes place principally among the middle classes and artisans in the towns.

In the kingdom of Wurtemberg there has also been a movement from the Church of Rome, though not so marked as in Saxony.

Another indication of the changed attitude toward the two creeds may be seen in the matter of mixed marriages. Formerly the largest proportion of these were celebrated in the Roman Catholic Church, and the children were brought up as Romanists. Now the reverse is the case. In the year 1903, *Germania*, an ultramontane organ, complained of the state of things in connection with these marriages. It said that in the year 1902, 677 mixed marriages in Wurtemberg were celebrated according to Protestant, and only 246 according to Roman Catholic rites, and in 1901 the numbers were 700 and 278 respectively. For Prussia similar figures might be given.¹

In Lorraine, in the year 1904, Bishop Benzler caused a great amount of ill-feeling by his action in trying to prevent Protestants from being buried in the same churchyards as Roman Catholics, and a number of shameful scandals arose out of the interdicts he laid on parishes in which his will was not carried out. This caused an incipient revolt, and in one parish 18 families joined the Protestant Church.

The reality of the revolt against the Church of Rome

¹ *Kirchliches Jahrbuch*, 1904.

among a great many of its adherents in Germany is acknowledged by Roman Catholic writers.¹ A Jesuit, H. Krose, writing in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, a German Jesuit organ, acknowledges that in Baden in the years 1825-1890 Catholicism lost in round numbers about 100,000 souls, and that the loss in the whole of Germany in the nineteenth century amounted to at least one million, of which more than 300,000 have been since 1871; that through mixed marriages in recent times over 100,000 children have been lost.²

Thus it will be seen that, quietly and unobserved by the general community, there has been going on for years in Germany an increasing movement towards Protestantism. That with the revival of evangelical Protestantism which has been taking place in the German Empire in recent years the attractive power of the Protestant Churches for Roman Catholics will continue to grow can scarcely be doubted.

¹ See *Die Wartburg*, 27th May, 1904.

² In Prussia the loss to the Roman Catholic Church through mixed marriages has been specially great. In the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, a leading ultramontane paper in Germany, on the 9th March, 1905, a correspondent proposes that, to prevent these losses in Berlin, a strong association of at least two thousand members should be formed to give the Catholic girls of Berlin opportunities of getting acquainted with Catholic men, and *vice versa*.

CHAPTER XII

"GERMAN CATHOLICISM"¹

ONE of a score of garments, each of which claims to be the seamless robe of Christ for which the soldiers cast lots, is preserved in the Cathedral of Trèves, or Trier, as the town is called by Germans. In the year 1844 this relic was exhibited for fifty days, from the 18th of August till the 6th of October, by Bishop Arnoldi, and special spiritual benefits were promised to those who made the pilgrimage to see it. About a million and a quarter pilgrims went to Trier. It called forth the greatest enthusiasm among the superstitious, but the incident excited deep disgust in the minds of the more intelligent and enlightened Roman Catholics. Vigorous expression was given to this feeling in an open letter to Bishop Arnoldi which appeared in the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter* for October 15th of the same year. This document was an incisive protest against the "idolatrous festival" of the Roman hierarchy which led the credulous multitude "to give the feelings of reverence which are due only to God to a piece of clothing, to a work made with men's hands."

¹ See Nippold, *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchen geschichte*, vol. ii. 690-99; *Realencyklopädie*, 3rd ed. vol. iv. 583-89, article "Deutschkatholicismus."

The German people were called on to arrest the tyrannical power of the Roman hierarchy. The timely and eloquent words struck home, and in a few days the letter had found its way to all parts of Germany, and was read everywhere. It was soon known that the author of the protest was a young priest named Ronge, who had been suspended some months before on account of an essay he had published which had given offence to the Church authorities, and who was now engaged in teaching. The letter was followed up by several pamphlets, one addressed to the lower clergy, another to the Catholic teachers, and a third to "My Companions in the faith and fellow-citizens." In these he demanded the setting aside of clerical celibacy, of auricular confession, and of the use of Latin in church services, and the establishment of a German Catholic Church. In the spring of 1845, Ronge began a tour through Germany which was a veritable triumphant march, during which he delivered earnest addresses calling for extensive reforms and the founding of an independent Church in which they would be carried out.

The step he advocated was made the easier, as another German priest had already taken it. John Czerski, a Roman Catholic curate in Schneidemühl, in Posen, had in August 1844 seceded from the Church of Rome, and had published a pamphlet in justification of this step. In this he tells that even at the episcopal seminary he could not agree with many of the Roman dogmas, and had compared them with the Bible. But he had learned to look at the world through Roman spectacles, and so he left the seminary in doubt about

many dogmas, but still Roman Catholic. He began his ministry in Posen, where he spent a year and a half, and there came to see the truth. He studied the Scriptures, and learned that the Pope is not a ruler appointed by God, that the teaching of the Church is in many points not in agreement with the teaching of Christ, especially in the questions of the interposition of mediators between God and man, confession and forgiveness of sins by priests, celibacy, the prohibition of mixed marriages, the worship of pictures and relics, the reading of mass in a tongue not understood by the people, and the administration of the Lord's Supper. A part of his congregation at Schneidemühl joined him in his secession from the Church of Rome, and formed an independent congregation, calling itself "Christian Catholic."

The first congregation formed under the leadership of Ronge was at Breslau, and soon in different parts of Germany many others were organised. The greatest difficulties were experienced in formulating a creed on which they could all unite, and the attempt to formulate it revealed the weakness of Ronge's position. The movement was too negative to have a hopeful future. The Breslau congregation had agreed to unite on the Apostles' Creed, revised to suit them by leaving out the miraculous elements in it, and making it read :—" I believe in God, the Father, who by His almighty word has created the world, and rules it in wisdom, righteousness, and love. I believe in Jesus Christ, our Saviour, who has redeemed us from the bondage of sin by His teaching, His life, and His death. I believe in the rule of the Holy Spirit on earth. I believe in a holy,

general, Christian Church, communion of the faithful, forgiveness of sins, and in an everlasting life."

Their opposition to the Roman Church drew Czerski and Ronge together at first, and their differences of doctrine did not at the time manifest themselves, as Czerski was dominated by the stronger personality of Ronge. At the first general assembly of the German Catholics, held in Leipzig in 1845, it was decided to call their body the "German Catholic Church," those of Slav origin, however, having the right to use the title "Apostolic Catholic," or "Christian Catholic." After the discussion on their confession, the Apostles' Creed was still further abbreviated. Czerski urged that the divinity of Christ should be asserted, but this was left an open question. And the interpretation and exposition of the articles of this creed were to be subject to no authority. An order of service was arranged, in which most Romish elements were eliminated. At a later synod it was declared that the Leipzig creed was not to be considered as binding, and some took the position that there should be no definition of dogma at all, as dogmatic definitions hindered the attainment of the goal of a universal Christian Church. The more negative German Catholicism thus became, the more those retired from it to whom the religious question was still vital, and the community that began with such hope became, as Mirot calls it in the article from which I am quoting, "an exercise ground for all negative spirits." Some drew towards the "Friends of Light," a body which had seceded from the State Churches of Germany to assert greater freedom of doctrine, and were rapidly laying aside every distinctive

Christian doctrine, till at length they accepted into their membership "Reformed Jews."

Now the question arose of their relation to the State, and the Governments of most of the German states looked with suspicion on an organisation that was neither Protestant nor Catholic, and treated it in many cases as merely political, Bavaria going so far as to declare its members guilty of high treason. This was a mistake both of fact and policy. But there was a sufficiently strong political element in the movement to give colour to this view. The political persecution to which they were subjected, like all persecution that is not too severe, only resulted in giving impetus to the movement, which grew in strength and numbers till the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848. This great political upheaval seemed at first to secure it still greater progress. But eventually it only served to show how devoid of real religious foundation the movement had in numberless cases become. In the brief time of its greatest prosperity, it was believed to have 60,000 members, and it numbered for a while 259 congregations. In the reaction that followed the Revolution, renewed difficulties were thrown in its way, which would probably have had little effect on a Church with a vigorous spiritual life, but which prevented the growth of a body whose principles were mainly negative. Public interest in the movement rapidly declined. Many congregations disappeared; the general organisation did not continue to hold firmly together; and in 1858 there were only 100 organised congregations remaining. Now "German Catholicism" as an organisation exists only in the kingdom of

Saxony, mainly in and around the cities of Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz. The German Catholics of other parts of the empire are attached to the Union of Free Religious Congregations, and are mostly known as "Free Religious." Consequently it is impossible to state the number of those who would account themselves "German Catholics."

At its beginning this "German Catholic" Movement awakened great hopes in the minds of Protestants, and still greater fear in the hearts of Roman Catholics. But two factors ruined its influence. It became too negative and too political. There was need that its members should unite on a creed that would be wide. But it should have maintained a real evangelical character. No revolt from the Church of Rome will ever be effective that is not thoroughly evangelical. A negative creed that offers men nothing really uplifting and spiritual may drive some of her members to seek a Church which does not give her children a stone when they want bread. But if the new Church has also no bread of life to offer, hungering hearts will not enter it. The Church that will free men from Rome must have a message of spiritual truth with which to free them.

The other rock on which the movement was shipwrecked was politics. Politics and religion cannot be separated, especially in a movement away from Rome. But the political element must be rigidly subordinated to the religious, if the religious element is to be safeguarded. This was not in the case of "German Catholicism." From the beginning the political element was unduly prominent, and in the end became the

overwhelming factor, and some leading men in it actually acknowledged that they had used it for their political ends. When this became manifest the fate of the movement was settled.

The movement has its double lesson for Protestants in a country where Romanism and Protestantism are in close contact, as for instance in Ireland. The two creeds are almost certain to stand generally in opposite political camps, and the temptation for Protestants will often be to allow their actions which are supposed to be guided by religious motives to be in reality controlled by political considerations. Is there not among us a certain element that is politically, but not religiously Protestant? That type of Protestantism will never attract the hearts of Roman Catholics, but will certainly act as a repellent influence.

The other lesson is that in protesting against the errors of Rome there is a danger of making that protest too exclusively negative, of dwelling always on the errors we reject, instead of dwelling with equal emphasis on the positive evangelical truths we assert. The negative side of our creed may do necessary destructive work. But the equally necessary constructive work can only be done by the earnest proclamation of fundamental evangelical truths. "German Catholicism" died because it never had enough evangelical truth and life to give it real spiritual vitality.

CHAPTER XIII

ANDRÉ BOURRIER¹

ANDRÉ BOURRIER was born at Marseilles in the year 1852. His father was a merchant tailor who by hard work had wrought his way to a respectable competence. His mother was a German Swiss. Both parents were devout Roman Catholics. In his early childhood they dedicated their second child, André, to the priesthood, and in his seventh year obtained his own consent. With this goal in view, he was sent in his boyhood to a monastery to be educated and kept from the contaminating influence of the world. He grew up earnestly devoted to the calling to which he was set apart, and in due course was ordained priest at the age of twenty-three. A severe illness immediately after his ordination hindered his entrance on his work; but as soon as he had recovered he was sent to work in La Ciotat, a port not far from Marseilles, where the great steamship company, Messageries Maritimes, has its large docks. Here he threw himself with the greatest earnestness into his work. He found that it was almost exclusively women that attended the Church, the men holding aloof in utter unbelief. To gain them, he formed sodalities into

¹ See Wegener, *Pfarrer Bourrier in Paris, sein Uebertritt und sein Werk*; Isaacson, *Roads from Rome*, pp. 119-25; Bourrier, *Ceux qui s'en vont* 1895-1904.

which he strove to bring them. To overcome their unbelief, he brought lecturers to expound the principles of Romanism and to refute its opponents. But he found that their arguments had little effect on their hearers. So he determined to set himself to study at first hand the arguments of Protestants. To do this it was necessary that he should obtain permission to read the books on the Index, a permission which can be obtained only from the Pope direct. It happened that a brother-priest had occasion to travel to Rome, and Bourrier, who had meantime been transferred to Marseilles, was to act as *locum tenens* during his absence. To reward him for his kindness, his friend offered to bring him some relic, a saint's tooth or a discarded cap of the Pope's. But Bourrier asked him to bring him instead of these things, by which he had ceased to set much store, a written permission to read the forbidden books. His friend brought him the necessary parchment; but his bishop was in doubt as to the effect it would have. "That parchment," he said, "will be your destruction."

Bourrier continued to discharge his priestly functions with great acceptance. In 1877 he was brought to Marseilles as confessor to the Sacramentaires. Then in succession he was appointed aumônier, confessor to the novices of the Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus, and to the "Dames réunies," and afterwards curate in the most important churches in the city, Notre-Dame-du-Mont, Saint-Lazare, Saint-Ferréol, and finally first curate in the pro-cathedral of St. Martin. During this time he was acquiring distinction as a preacher, and was to be heard, especially at the leading festivals, in the principal pulpits of Marseilles, even Protestant pastors

not unfrequently being among his audience. He was becoming popular also as a confessor, the churches in which he heard confessions being frequently crowded with penitents. His business gifts were recognised in his being sent three times to Rome in connection with a divorce case in which some of the most important families of France were implicated. On the occasion of a visit to Paris he was invited to preach in Notre-Dame-aux-Victoires, one of the leading churches in the capital. These are all proofs of the esteem in which he was held and of the position which he was achieving for himself in the Church. During these years of progress in the Church and of earnest study, Sebastian Faure, the anarchist, came to Marseilles to challenge the clergy to discussion in open meetings. The bishop sent Bourrier to the Théâtre-Chave to controvert the notorious opponent of the Church. Before going, he said to the bishop, "I shall defend, not the Church, but the Gospel." The reply was, "Go and shut the mouth of our enemies: that is all that is required." He achieved an unquestioned success.

During these years he made eager use of the permission given him to read the books on the Index. He studied zealously the Bible and Protestant theology, and the more he studied the more the conviction gained ground in his mind that Romanism was not the religion of Jesus. He saw more and more clearly the abuses and superstitions that prevailed in the Church of Rome. Bits of bone, the mortal remains of some "saint," were put into his hands and he was to commend these to the faithful as

objects of their adoration. The love of money prevailed everywhere, and the blessings of the Church were everywhere sold. The Church of Rome forbids the marriage of cousins for fear of the disastrous consequences to the race if such marriages were allowed; but a few francs obtained the Church's dispensation, and the disastrous consequences were thereby done away. His mind revolted against the confessional with its requirement that women and girls should confide to a young, unmarried priest their most secret thoughts. His intellect rose against the blasphemy of the mass in which the priest commanded God to descend into the bread and wine, and against the illusion of an infallible pope; he was repelled by the bloody history of the Inquisition, which is still defended by the teachers of canon law in Rome. Wherever he turned he saw nothing but formalism and superstition.

The distress of his soul became daily greater. He sought everywhere for light, willing to believe if possible that he was mistaken and the Church right. He went to Paris, to Geneva, to Rome, to Louvain, and interviewed those from whom he thought he might obtain light and guidance in his trouble; but from orthodox Roman Catholics he could obtain no deliverance from his doubts. Confessors to whom he opened his mind charged him with pride or scolded him as a fool. Proofs or comfort for which he longed they had none. In Rome he consulted the Grand Penitentiary; but he simply urged him not to trust his reason, but to force it to submit itself to the judgment of those whom God appointed as its

guides. The result of these inward struggles was a long illness. He was sent to travel, in the hope that a change might cure him. For a year he went here and there inquiring after the truth. But his travels only opened his eyes wider. At Marseilles every year the head of Lazarus is exposed on the altars for the veneration of the saints. What was his surprise to find at Autun that another head of Lazarus was preserved there, and served a similar purpose. So Lazarus must have been a two-headed saint. At Rome he found that for a bribe a marriage of ten years' duration was declared null and void because the wife asserted that her consent had been forced. The wife took her maiden name, and yet the four children of the invalid marriage were pronounced legitimate. In the monasteries indulgences were bought and sold. He returned from his travels with his soul filled with a deep disgust at the pedlar spirit shown by the Church and at the hypocrisy of its representatives.

For ten years this struggle went on, till at length he decided he could only get peace of conscience by withdrawing himself from the Church to whose service he had been dedicated, and by living for the freedom and truth to which God had led him. His father thought he must be mad, and shut him up in a room in his house. Though forty-two years of age, Bourrier submitted, in order to show his filial reverence. But his mother saw that if he was not mad this treatment would make him so, and let him out after a week's imprisonment. The next day he went to Paris.

It was on the 31st August, 1895, that he sent in his resignation to his bishop in a letter explaining his action, in which he said that after ten years of struggle and suffering he had come to see that the Gospel alone could save modern society, that the Church of Rome could not give the people the Gospel without denying herself, that the Catechism did not represent the Gospel, and that henceforth he would devote his life to the service of God, more than happy to be able in future to preach his Saviour with fidelity to His Word and without the fear of men.

For two years he devoted himself to theological studies in the Protestant Faculty in Paris, some of the fruits of which he has shown in his tractate on the text "Thou art Peter" on which the Church of Rome builds its tremendous claims. In October 1897 he became pastor of the Protestant Church of Sèvres-Bellevue in the neighbourhood of Paris, the church in which the celebrated preacher Bersier had so long worked. In the same year he started the paper *Le Chrétien Français*, at first as a monthly, but from 1899 as a weekly.¹ By means of this paper, which has a very large circulation among the Roman Catholic priests of France, he became the leader of the revolt of the priests of that country, which is one of the most remarkable of recent religious movements. Its object is the reform of Catholicism by former priests. Bourrier knew that he was not alone in his revolt from Rome; that there were many prepared to take the same step if they could only see their way clearly and were encouraged.

¹ It is now issued twice monthly.

So he set himself to do this work. His aim is the formation of a National Church, free from the tyranny and superstition of Rome. He worked for a time in connection with the Home for Converted Priests established by Corneloup, but afterwards felt the necessity for a home less restricted in its scope, and established one of his own. Here they are received and prepared for their new life in whatever way seems best in each case.¹ Into his own house these are welcomed till they can find a way of earning the means of subsistence.

Le Chrétien Français has become a most influential organ, finding its way into the hands of thousands of French priests, and influencing public opinion in matters connected with the position of the Church of Rome in a most marked degree. Bourrier has been in England to stir up an interest in the work in which he has been engaged, and has taken several tours through Germany for the same purpose. In the most recent of these, in the autumn of 1902, he received a very enthusiastic reception everywhere, the intelligent elements of the German population crowding to hear his addresses. His tour has not only aroused an interest in the work of the converted priests, but has done a good deal to awaken Germany to a sense of the dangers of the ultramontanism which has been playing too large a part in that country in recent years.

¹ Since this was written, the house has been closed and the priests who are helped by him are lodged in Christian families.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MOVEMENT AMONG THE FRENCH PRIESTS¹

By far the most notable feature in the recent religious history of France is the remarkable revolt of the Roman Catholic priests from their Church. The secession of Abbé Bourrier was one of the earliest and most important, and brought into the movement at its very beginning a man fitted to be a leader by the long-continued spiritual struggles through which he had passed, by his competent scholarship, his deep insight into human character, his eloquence, and his enthusiasm. For a couple of years after his secession, however, comparatively little progress was made. A few priests had left the Church of Rome and had become, or were preparing to become, Protestant pastors and evangelists. But the movement had not gained sufficient impetus to carry along with it the timid and hesitating. The impulse that started the movement on its victorious career came in the year 1897, and it came from several directions. In the April of that year the exposure of

¹ See Braeunlich, *Befreiung vom Papsttum*, pp. 13-29; Réveillaud, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Frankreich*, pp. 43-50; Reichmann, *Katholicismus und Protestantismus im heutigen Frankreich*, pp. 49-75; Wegener, *Pfarrer Bourrier in Paris, sein Uebertritt und sein Werk*; *Le Chrétien Français*; Bourrier, *Ceux qui s'en vont*.

the incredible credulity and superstition of the Roman Catholic Church, priesthood and people alike, made by Leo Taxil's confession of his twelve years' swindle, came as a shock to many priests who still clung to their Church in spite of doubts and questionings. On the 3rd of May in that year Abbé Victor Charbonnel, one of the most prominent members of the Parisian priesthood, published in the *Éclair* an article denouncing the superstitions of his Church, the devil stories, the miracles of Lourdes, the new dogmas, and the *Syllabus*. A few weeks later he went still farther, and published in the Protestant theological magazine, *Revue Chrétienne*, an article on the Leo Taxil affair entitled "Superstitious and Mystified," which drew from it the conclusion that "Catholicism decidedly has need of a little Protestantism."

Public attention was arrested still more by the publication of Abbé Philippot's confession. Educated by the Carmelites, he had become in succession teacher in the College of St. Quentin and parish priest of Jeantes and of Plomion. At a conference of priests he had recommended a brotherly association with Protestants. This brought on him the displeasure of his bishop and a prohibition to address such meetings again. At a subsequent conference he wished to read his confession of faith, but was not allowed to do so. Accordingly he printed it and posted it to 700 priests. When sending it to his bishop he wrote: "You have forbidden me to speak in Vervins, so I must speak to the whole diocese. As in the days of the Apostle Paul, the Word of God is not bound. If you believe in the

Gospel you will bless me ; otherwise you will condemn me." The Church of Rome does not encourage such language. The next day he was excommunicated. The confession that called forth this treatment is too long to be quoted here in full. A few sentences will enable the reader to see its character. "I sum up my confession of faith, as the martyrs of the ancient Church did, in the one word, I am a Christian. I am a Christian, because by faith I am united to Jesus Christ, and in and through Him have the forgiveness of my sins and direct communion with the heavenly Father. I am a Christian, because the teachings of Jesus Christ are the law of my understanding, because the ethics of Jesus Christ is the ideal of my life, because I know no religion more perfect than that of Jesus Christ. I place the Gospel of Jesus Christ above every human word, and judge everything by the Gospel. . . . I believe in one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church ; one, because Christ is its only Head ; holy, because the power of the Gospel purifies it ; catholic, that is, universal, because it embraces all who outwardly confess Christ ; apostolic, because it was first spread by the apostles. The Roman Church is not the universal Church, but only the largest section of it. The Papacy is a human institution, and now as formerly all churches are alike before the Gospel. God alone is infallible, and infallibility is a quality which God cannot communicate to any creature. . . . In all circumstances I am resolved to preach the Gospel according to my conscience. Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel."

The effect of this confession was great and immediate. It has been compared in its results among the priests of France to Luther's Wittenberg theses. It expressed the thoughts that had been growing up in the minds of many priests, but which they had not been able, or had not summoned up the courage to express themselves. Philippot went after his excommunication to Sèvres to Bourrier's home for priests, where in fellowship with Bourrier and other like-minded friends he was led to a deeper experience of the peace and joy of the Gospel. Then he returned to his old home and worked with great success and blessing in the department Aisne. He was about to marry and settle down as a Protestant pastor, when he was struck down by an attack of brain disease brought on by overwork and mental strain. He was unconscious for a time. When he recovered consciousness he found himself deprived of the power of speech, and under the depression caused by this and by the disease he drowned himself at Calais. By his death the movement was deprived of one of its finest spirits, from whose work much was expected.

In the same year, 1897, in which Philippot published his confession, the first number of *Le Chrétien Français* appeared, at first as a monthly. It was founded by a group of priests who had already seceded from the Church of Rome, and the editorship was undertaken by Bourrier. The third number reached a circulation of 3000, largely among the Roman Catholic priests. Its circulation increased so much that it was in 1899 turned into a weekly, and continues to reach a very large number of French priests. It calls itself the organ of

evangelical reform in Catholicism. The words by which it was introduced to the public in its first number indicate the spirit in which it is conducted. "We are all priests, secular priests, monks, and regular clergy. Some have already seceded from the Roman Church ; the rest are still in its bosom and among its hierarchy ; we all wish a religious reform, a renewed Catholicism, a Christianity as it was instituted by the apostles, the only authentic exponents of the teaching of Jesus. The Papacy is for us only a human institution, worthy of respect if it will renounce a past full of errors and dogmatic inventions ; to be rejected if it hardens itself in the pride of its antichristian privileges. Unity is an evil if it erects itself on the ruins of Christian love and of union in Jesus Christ, after it has desecrated the holiest of all sanctuaries, that of the conscience. . . . We appeal to Catholics and Protestants, . . . to all who will work for the salvation of France by means of the Gospel. We have adherents in nearly all the dioceses of the Church of France, in all ranks of the clergy, in several monasteries and religious brotherhoods. We have also received expressions of sympathy from one who stands very high in the hierarchy. More than twenty priests and monks have broken the chains that bound them to the Roman Church, in order to be free to preach the Gospel. Others, yet more numerous, believe that they can still remain in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and that the reform will take place from within Catholicism. Here or there, we consider all disciples of the Christ of the Gospel as brethren ; and we say only with the apostle, ' If Christ is preached ! ' "

The paper founded under these circumstances has continued to increase in influence steadily, and to be an effective means of reaching the priests of France who were growing weary of the superstition and the tyranny of the Church to which they belonged and who wished to free themselves from it. The 20 mentioned in the note of the editor have grown to 1200. And the movement shows no sign of abatement, but rather gains in strength and volume. Round Bourrier in conducting the paper of which he is editor, and the work with which it is associated, there has gathered a band of able and earnest men who have broken the shackles of Rome and have given themselves to the preaching of the Gospel and the freeing of France from the spiritual bondage in which it has so long lain. A considerable number of converted priests are now working with success as Protestant evangelists and pastors, some of them in the very places in which they formerly read mass.

A similar work was done by Corneloup and the committee associated with him by means of his monthly paper *Le Prêtre Converti*, and his *Œuvre des Prêtres Convertis*. Corneloup was himself formerly a Roman Catholic priest, and after his conversion laboured to bring other priests to the knowledge of the Gospel. He had a home for converted priests at Courbevoie, where they were maintained temporarily while finding work, or being trained for Christian service. Since his death in 1904 his work has been carried on by M. Félix Meillon. The title of the paper, *Le Prêtre Converti*, has been changed to *France et Évangile*.

The question may be asked, what are the reasons

that induce so many priests to resign their office and to leave their Church? These are evidently very varied. An excellent summary of them is given by Professor Ménégos, Dean of the Protestant Theological Faculty in Paris.¹

“Many, especially young priests, secede because they can no longer reconcile it with their consciences to take part in a worship that has no intelligible meaning for them. They believe no longer in the miracle of the mass, in the privilege of the priesthood, in the effect of absolution, in the value of pilgrimages and rosaries; and because they have a conscience, because they have a feeling of personal honour, they give up the office they could only continue to carry on by a constant lie. . . . Others perceive that they cannot keep their vow of celibacy. They do not wish to live a life of vice, as they easily might do while remaining priests; so they enter a secular profession and marry. Among those upon whom the vow of celibacy presses, it is the respectable, the honourable, those of character, who lay aside the soutane and take on themselves the care of a family. Again, others know that Protestantism is more in harmony with the preaching of Jesus than Catholicism. They see the superior civilisation of the Protestant nations, they are startled at the truth of Roman Catholic Church History, they see simple Protestant piety: these things draw them, and they come. Finally, others have lived through experiences like those of Luther in Erfurt. They have through Christ become assured of

¹ Quoted by Wegener in his *Pfarrer Bourrier in Paris, sein Uebertritt und sein Werk*, pp. 36-38.

the forgiveness of their sins and of the love of their God. Then the choirs of the saints faded for them, then for them the altars with their relics collapsed, then for them Mary herself . . . descended from the throne of heaven, the rosaries lay on the ground, the Pope lost his sanctity, the Church her arrogated privileges—they had found the Father through Christ, that was enough for them—so they became Protestant. These men are the leaders in the movement.”

The difficulties that have to be faced by those who throw up their position as priests are very great, and call for active sympathy and help. They have as a general rule been taken away from association with their fellows in their earliest days and devoted to the priesthood and put through the special training which Rome appoints for the office. This usually unfits them for any other occupation, and when they leave their parishes there is scarcely any means by which they can at once earn their living. This often hinders many who would otherwise at once secede. It is not easy for a man in advancing years to learn a trade or occupation by which he can obtain his daily bread. Many have shown their sincerity by leaving the assured sustenance they had as priests and earning their bread by manual labour. During the Paris Exhibition former priests might have been seen wheeling bath-chairs. Wegener tells us of one who had become a labourer on the Northern Railway, but as his strength could not stand the severe, unaccustomed work, his health broke down, and he lay for weeks in a hospital. When he visited him, the patient said to him: “Formerly I was a gentleman, now I am in a menial situation ;

formerly the children ran after me and kissed my hands, now no one asks for me; formerly I was influential, now I am powerless; formerly I was rich, or at any rate had no cares, now I often do not know with what I shall feed my family the next day; formerly I was unhappy, now I am happy."

It is said that about 1200 priests have left the Church in France during the past few years, and that the number is increasing at the rate of 200 a year. But the strength of the movement among the priests is seen not only in the secessions that have actually taken place and in those that are evidently to take place in the near future. It is seen also in the efforts after reform that are being made inside the Church itself, however feeble and hopeless these may be. It is found impossible to prevent the younger priests from reading important Protestant theological works. Sabatier's *Sketch of a Philosophy of Religion* is said¹ to have exercised a decisive influence on many. The critical study of the Bible has, under the leadership of Loisy and others, found its way among the priests, and has made it impossible to retain their old Romanist conception of the Scriptures. The Church authorities are endeavouring to stamp out this free investigation of the Bible, but it remains to be seen whether they will succeed. Several of the most influential bishops are known to sympathise partially with the reform movement, and within the sphere of their own personal influence and their own dioceses are working to some

¹ *Der Protestantismus am Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Wort und Bild*: Ehrhardt, *Der Protestantismus in Frankreich und Belgien*, p. 1059.

extent in the direction of reform. Among these may be mentioned Mignot, Archbishop of Alby, and Le Camus, Bishop of La Rochelle, who have remodelled the curriculum in their theological seminaries, so as to fit their priests better for their work under modern conditions, and have given a much larger place than hitherto to the study of the Word of God and to modern science, at the expense of the time that used to be devoted to scholastic theology. The effect of this must inevitably be seen hereafter in a wider intellectual outlook and a greater insight into the teachings of the Bible. There is evidently an awakening of the intellect going on among the French priests similar to that which ushered in the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER XV

THE MOVEMENT AMONG THE FRENCH PEOPLE

LONG before the movement among the priests described in the last chapter, and to a great extent independent of it even since that movement began, there has been in progress in France a most encouraging and successful work of evangelisation. This work, however, is carried on by so many different churches and societies that it is difficult to get a clear idea of it, or to obtain any accurate information of its results. All that my object here demands is to give a few details of the way in which the Protestantism of France has been advancing.¹

In the department of Nord the Central Society maintains pastors or evangelists in Cambrai, Douai, Lille, Maubeuge, Roubaix, Crévecœur, Dorignies, Fourmies, and Sin-le-Noble. In the neighbouring departments of Pas-de-Calais and Aisne it has permanent centres of evangelisation and preaching stations in Bruay, Hénin-Liétard, Lens, Liévin, Saint-Quentin, Laon, Soissons, Fresnoy-le-Grand, Grougis, Tergnier,

¹ See Réveillaud, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Frankreich*, from which the contents of this chapter are largely taken; also Lachenmann, *Die evangelische Bewegung in Frankreich*, Erste Hälfte, 1904, in Braeunlich's 2nd series of *Berichte*. Since these chapters were written Dr. C. A. Salmond's interesting pamphlet, *The Religious Question in France*, has appeared.

etc. None of these places had a pastor or regular Protestant service forty or fifty years ago.

In Paris the progress is very marked. When Protestantism was restored in the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only three churches, with four or five ministers. Now the Reformed Church has 20 churches, with 30 pastors and assistants; the Lutheran Church has 13 parishes, with 17 ministers; the Free Church has 5 congregations; the Methodists 5; the Baptists 6; the McAll Mission 16, and 9 in the environs; to which must be added various other missions. In all, there are at present in Paris 105 Protestant churches. It is believed that nearly one half of the members and adherents of these churches were born and brought up as Roman Catholics.

In the neighbourhood of Paris the number of Protestant churches and pastors has grown similarly. The Versailles consistory (or presbytery) was only established about a dozen years ago, and the Reformed Church at Versailles, which with its branches at Corbeil and Bellevue numbers more than 2000 persons, is scarcely fifty years old. In the last seven or eight years no less than six new churches have been built in the district. At Monteynard, in the department of Isère, there is a growing congregation with branches in several neighbouring villages, which began through the testimony of a humble farmer who was converted by the reading of a New Testament brought to the village by a soldier.

Sometimes a district that has hitherto proved specially inaccessible suddenly opens itself to the

reception of the Gospel. The district of Haute-Loire (Auvergne), in the heart of the central tableland of France, has always seemed hard of access to the evangelist. It is a stronghold of clericalism, and a recruiting-ground for monks, nuns, priests, and missionaries. Here Pastor Abel, the agent of the Central Society of Evangelisation in Puy, had tried to gain a footing, and colporteurs had endeavoured to dispose of their religious literature, but both with meagre success. Then the Genevan Evangelisation Society sent an evangelist named Debats to work for a few months at Saint-Georges-d'Aurac. In spite of priestly opposition and persecution, he continues to proclaim in all the neighbouring parishes the message of free grace in Christ. The attention of the people is arrested. Thousands flock to hear him, and many of them find peace through his preaching. The opposition of the priests becomes more bitter, and all those spiritual and social weapons they know so well how to use are employed, with the result that many have ceased attending the services, but not until a vigorous congregation of 200 souls has been gathered in, and a new centre of evangelistic work has been established.

In some cases whole villages have seceded from Romanism to Protestantism. One of the most notable instances of this is Madranges. The villagers had no resident priest, and all the neighbouring priests had refused to comply with their request for services. So at length they determined to apply to the Protestant minister of Brives, promising that they would all become his hearers. Pastor Fallourd of Brives

made inquiries into the matter, and found that many of the inhabitants of Madranges had had opportunities of attending Protestant services during journeys in other districts, and actually acquired a real inclination to Protestantism. A large quantity of Bibles and New Testaments had been bought from a colporteur. On the 16th August, 1898, Fallourd went to Madranges, and was enthusiastically received. When he arrived the church bell was rung vigorously to intimate his coming, and everywhere muskets were fired in his honour. At two o'clock a large meeting was held in the open air: the church was too small to hold it. At the close of the meeting an old man said, "That is the religion for me. When I die, I shall have a pastor, not a priest." A few days later he died. Pastor Fallourd was summoned to the funeral. A very large funeral procession attended at the little church, where at the urgent request of the parishioners the Protestant pastor conducted the service from the pulpit of the Roman Catholic church. The funeral service left a deep impression, and the pastor was invited back. On the 28th August the village festival was held—that of St. Bartholomew! The people took the opportunity of showing their attachment to Protestantism. Five meetings were held in three days. At one of them, in spite of pouring rain, there were 600 persons present. An evangelist then went to Madranges, and for two months worked in the Roman Catholic church without any opposition. With increased knowledge of the Gospel came increased interest, and before the inevitable opposition from the Roman

Catholic Church authorities came, practically the whole population of the village and immediate neighbourhood had joined the Protestant Church, and an active congregation was established, which is extending its influence over the villages in the district.

The district in which the progress of Protestantism is at present most encouraging is that of the two departments of Charente, composed of the former provinces of Saintonge and Angoumois. This district lies in the middle of the west coast of France on both banks of the river Charente, from which the departments take their names. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this was the region in which Protestantism had one of its firmest strongholds. In it lie La Rochelle and Saint-Jean d'Angély, so famous in the religious wars of France. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the persecutions that followed destroyed all the churches of the Reformers, and drove into hiding those Protestants who did not either escape to other countries or return to the Church of Rome. When toleration came, these hidden Protestants showed themselves, and after a time several consistories or presbyteries were formed, with from five to ten congregations each. This work went on quietly till about the year 1882, when a remarkable movement toward Protestantism began in the district. In the August of that year two young men from the village of Tâtre came to the pastor of Barbezieux with the request that he would come to their parish and baptise their newborn children. They were Roman Catholics, but wished to become Protestants and to have their children

brought up in the Reformed faith. After some hesitation, the pastor agreed to do so. This was the beginning of a religious movement that soon spread to all the neighbouring parishes, and eventually throughout the departments of Charente and Charente-Inferieure. Round Barbezieux three new congregations and a number of preaching stations have sprung up, carrying on an active work of evangelisation. In the same way the work spread out from the neighbouring church of Pons. In four years eleven new congregations were formed, with preaching stations grouped around them. To the south-west of these two points a similar work began at St. Aubin de Blaye. Here the mayor of the commune feeling that a bad religion could only be displaced by a better, went to a Protestant pastor of Bordeaux and asked him to come to them and give them lectures on Protestantism. Out of this grew a new congregation which has become the centre of an important work of evangelisation in the district. So in different parts of these two departments the spread of Protestantism has been in recent years most encouraging. In the neighbouring departments of Dordogne and Lot a very large number of new Protestant congregations and preaching stations have been established.

In Brittany the Welsh carry on an important mission work, the Presbyterians in and around Quimper, the Baptists in the neighbourhood of Morlaix. In many parts of the country the Central Society of Evangelisation carries on its work. In 1902 it assisted in the maintenance of services in 450 places. An interesting account of its work appears monthly in its organ,

Journal de l'Évangélisation. The "Mission populaire évangélique de France," better known as the McAll Mission, displays great activity in many parts of France. According to the 30th Report of the Mission, it had in 1901 76 halls in Paris, its environs, and the provinces, in which in that year 12,841 meetings had been held. Among its special departments of work may be mentioned 51 industrial schools for women and girls; meetings for the blind; three dispensaries; two halls for soldiers; two missionary boats. These boats ply on the Seine and on its tributaries, the Oise, the Marne, and the Yonne, and enable the evangelists to preach the Gospel in the towns and villages near their banks. Abundant testimony is borne to the results of this mode of evangelising, and often, when the boat leaves a place where it has been, application is made for the establishment of permanent services.

Another interesting work of evangelisation has for some time been carried on by a Society of Volunteer Evangelists under the leadership of Professor Passy. He and those who work with him devote their leisure to evangelistic and colportage work among their fellow-countrymen. His theory is that the Church should be laicised, the pastoral work of every congregation being done as far as possible by the unpaid elders of the congregation, men still pursuing their ordinary professions, and as a rule only those who give themselves to missionary and evangelistic work being set free from other occupations and supported for the work. Apart from his theory, it is hopeful for the future of France to see men of education and influence prepared to devote their leisure to evangelistic work.

It is impossible to follow here all the work of the different Churches and Missionary Societies for the diffusion of the Gospel in France. That Protestantism has made wonderful progress in that country in recent years is a fact beyond dispute, but the increase is difficult to estimate in the absence of a religious census. The number of Protestant pastors has multiplied tenfold during the last century. One of the most interesting proofs of its vigour is seen in the earnest and successful missions it carries on in heathen lands. When the French Government took possession of Madagascar, and it became necessary to supply a considerable number of French missionaries for that country, the Protestant Churches sent no less than forty new missionaries in the years 1898 and 1899, besides 18 additional missionaries in the latter year to the Zambesi. And in three years the contributions for mission work among the heathen increased from £20,000 to £40,000. These facts are a proof of a healthy and active spiritual life which promises well for the future. Another hopeful sign is the brave and energetic spirit in which the Protestant Churches as a whole are facing the increased responsibilities that will be thrown on them by the separation of Church and State.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

THE dissolution of the monasteries formed one of the most important acts in the great drama of the Reformation. In the reformation that is being enacted in France at present, it is playing an equally prominent part. The history of France during the nineteenth century is closely bound up with that of the religious orders, and not a few striking incidents can only be understood when we get beneath the surface and discover the influence and the intrigues of the religious associations.

After the Revolution religious orders were declared illegal, as denying man's inherent freedom. But the restoration of the monarchy brought them back, and their presence, though not legal, was winked at. They gradually increased their power and multiplied their establishments, and changes of government seemed only to give them new opportunities of extension. The most important incident in their history during the last century was the passing of the Law Falloux in the year 1850, which legalised their position in the teaching institutions of the country. By offering to save the State the cost of education, and by reiterating their claim that education by inalienable right belongs

to the Church, whose duty it is to watch over and guard the faith and morals of the young, and that this could only be done when the child is under the entire control of the Church during its early years, they gradually got the greater part of the education of the country into their hands. The fatal result of this was seen in every department of the national life. To entrust the education of the citizens to orders pledged to use their enormous influence over the people throughout their most impressionable years for the purpose of bringing them under the spirit of the Papacy and making them subservient to the aims of the Curia, could not but have a most injurious effect on the stability and progress of the Republic. Until recently the influence of the Papacy and of its agents, the religious orders, was openly and avowedly hostile to the Republic and in favour of every pretender who tried to overthrow it. The Papacy brought about the war with Germany, from which it was expected that the Church would reap such great advantages, but which resulted in such disasters to the nation. Most of the subsequent conspiracies against the Republic were hatched by the Jesuits, and the power of the monastic orders over the army was seen clearly in the celebrated Dreyfus affair.

The growing wealth of the religious orders also made them a standing menace to the safety of the State. That wealth has been growing by leaps and bounds. The following table¹ shows the progress

¹ See Yves Guyot, *Le Bilan social et politique de l'Église*, 1902, p. 321. This book gives a most valuable account of the

of the authorised orders during the last half-century:—

1st January, 1845	.	.	.	43,026,900 francs.
„ 1856	.	.	.	81,975,000 „
„ 1859	.	.	.	105,370,000 „
„ 1882	.	.	.	374,728,000 „

In addition to the authorised, there have been a large number of unauthorised orders, which never asked for the sanction of the State, and existed in defiance of the law. In the year 1880 it was found that the real estate of the authorised and unauthorised orders amounted to 712,538,000 francs. In 1900 their real estate was declared by them to amount to 486,433,700 francs: it was found on inquiry to amount to 1,071,775,700 francs, or nearly £43,000,000. This is what vows of poverty mean in the Church of Rome. As a great deal of the property of the various orders was held for them by others, these figures represent only what could be traced as belonging to them. And as these figures deal only with real estate, they should probably be multiplied many times to estimate the true wealth of the monasteries. M. Brisson in his valuable work on the religious orders¹ also gives a large collection of statistics proving the enormous growth of the wealth of the various orders during the past half-century.

One of the striking features of the action of the social and political effects of the Church of Rome on the different countries in which its followers are found in considerable numbers. It should be studied by all who are interested in the subject of the social and political influences of the Papacy.

¹ Henri Brisson, *La Congregation. Opinions et Discours*, 1871-1901.

orders in accumulating this wealth is the fraud and cunning employed to circumvent the law. This growth of the orders and of their riches and power did not take place unobserved. Several laws were passed from time to time to check this growth and keep the monasteries more under observation. But they had little effect. Means were generally found of evading them. Monasteries declared to be illegal transformed themselves nominally into commercial associations, but continued their existence and work in every respect as before. In 1880, the Jesuit order was suppressed by law, but it has continued its existence in France ever since. A Jesuit school celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1898. The report of the festival states that "the free school of St. Joseph in Lille was bought in 1872 by the 'Société civile' called the 'Société civile de Saint-Joseph,' and this 'Société civile' entrusted the direction of it to the fathers of the Company of Jesus."¹ This "Société civile" was probably the local establishment of the Jesuit order under a fictitious name, to evade the requirements of the law. Many instances of the frauds practised to obtain money or avoid payments required by the law may be found in Brisson's work referred to above. Nothing could be more calculated to undermine the supremacy of the State and destroy respect for its authority than to have within its borders such an *imperium in imperio*, setting the laws at defiance, and accumulating vast wealth, which it was known to be using for the destruction of the State under whose protection it lived.

¹ Brisson, *La Congrégation*, p. 5.

Many of the religious orders, too, were almost purely commercial institutions, with scarcely any genuinely religious function, putting their manufactures on the market like any other manufacturing firm. Some of these manufactures were famous all over the world, like the liqueurs of the Chartreuse and other monasteries. But religious orders are not usually understood to exist in order that the monks may make enormous profits out of the making and selling of intoxicating drinks. The prosperity of the artisan classes was affected by the competition of these celibate rivals, whose profits were used for the overthrow of the Government on whose stability the prosperity of the community depended.

The determination to deal effectively with the religious orders was greatly strengthened by the scandals connected with the Order of the Good Shepherd. This order, whose professed object was the maintenance of orphan girls and the reclamation of fallen women, was discovered to be exploiting the orphans and other inmates for financial purposes, and treating them with incredible cruelty. In 1894, Bishop Turinaz of Nancy felt compelled to take energetic action against the Convent of the Good Shepherd in his own city. He interdicted the nuns from building a chapel at enormous expense while they were depriving the orphans of the necessities of life. They appealed to Rome, and he sent in the evidence on which he had acted. His memoir was eventually published in the official organ of the Vatican, *Analecta Romana*, and reprinted in the French journals. The revelation of the conduct of

the nuns, which Bishop Turinaz stated was the same in all the convents of the order, created a great sensation. The long hours during which the girls worked, the bad and insufficient food, the disgusting cruelties with which they were treated if their work was considered insufficient, the turning of the girls out on the street penniless when their services were no longer profitable, so that they almost inevitably fell into a life of vice, the employment of the girls mainly in making and embroidering underclothing and bed-linen for the wealthy *demi-monde* of Paris, were the principal items in his indictment. Several successful actions for damages taken by girls against some of the Good Shepherd convents kept the matter before the public and supplied further evidence.¹

Between 1870 and 1901 thirty-three Bills had been brought before the French Parliament to deal with this crying evil, but most of them had proved more disastrous to the Ministry proposing them than to the orders against which they had been directed. But a different fate awaited that of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, now known as the Law of 1st July, 1901. It was not Waldeck-Rousseau's first attempt to deal with the evil of the religious associations; but since his previous efforts the perils arising from the orders had been revealed more clearly to the nation, and it was prepared for drastic proposals.

Though unauthorised associations were illegal, they had continued to pursue their course hitherto almost unmolested, and in periods of weak adminis-

¹ See Guinaudeau, *Les Crimes des Couvents*.

trations had largely multiplied. Now it was decided that all unauthorised establishments were to be dissolved and their estates liquidated by the Government. Any member of the order who wished to do so was to be entitled to claim whatever he had brought into the association, or could prove he had added to its property by his work. A three months' interval was allowed to the various orders to apply for authorisation. Those that did not apply during that interval were to be *ipso facto* dissolved. Extensive powers were allowed to the municipalities and to the Ministry in deciding whether any order or any establishment belonging to any order was to be authorised. On those which might be authorised certain conditions were imposed. They were to make known the title and object of the association, the localities in which it had establishments, the names, professions, and domiciles of those who in any capacity were charged with its administration. The associations were required to make known every three months all changes that took place in their administration or direction, as well as all modifications in their statutes. No order was to open a new establishment without the sanction of the Council of State. Every religious association was to keep an account of its receipts and expenditure, and draw up every year a financial statement for the past year and an inventory of its real and personal property. A complete list of its members, mentioning their family names, the names under which they were known in the order, their nationality, age, and place of birth, and the date of their entry into the order, was to be kept for inspec-

tion in every establishment. Every order was required to promise to submit to the authority of the bishop of the diocese, and to produce a written statement from the bishop that he was willing to undertake the oversight of the establishment. These formed the principal provisions of this famous statute.

Having succeeded in carrying the measure, M. Waldeck-Rousseau dissolved parliament and appealed to the constituencies for their verdict, and he was returned to power with an increased majority. Having thus received the approval of his policy, he retired on the assembling of the parliament, and left the administration of the new law to other hands. His mantle was taken up by M. Combes, who had been educated for the priesthood and had held an appointment in a clerical teaching institution, and was therefore acquainted from the inside with the character and tactics of Rome. Circumstances soon showed that a strong hand was required to grapple with the opposition raised against the new law. Many of the religious associations, understanding the nature of the new statute and not being prepared to submit to its provisions, left the country, taking with them their movable property, and leaving their real estate in the hands of the Government to be administered according to the provisions of the Law of Associations. Others, trusting perhaps to the proverbial fickleness of the French electorate, and perhaps thinking also that the Government, like so many of their predecessors, might shrink from putting the laws against the religious associations into operation, refused to apply for authorisation. A large

number, not prepared either to leave the country or to fight with the national authorities, applied at the last moment for the legal authorisation. Those that refused to apply were peremptorily closed by the Government. Some of these tried to resist, and raised the cry of liberty, always a potent one with the French populace. But the cry had little effect, and the resistance was in most cases feeble, and was easily overcome. It was chiefly found in Brittany, where the continuance of the old Breton language has secluded the people from the influences that affect the rest of the country, and has kept them longer under the tutelage of the priests. Their opposition was encouraged by the refusal of some officers in the army to assist the civil power in expelling the nuns and others who had disobeyed the law. But some of these officers were tried by court-martial and imprisoned, and their names struck off the army list. This firmness put an end to any further open sympathy from the officers, educated as most of them had been by the religious orders against whom the law was directed.

A large number of monastic establishments tried to evade the law by professedly transferring their schools into the hands of laymen, who then employed the former teachers. But the Government refused to recognise these transactions, and closed about 2500 such schools. Of those establishments that applied for authorisation the great majority were refused either by the local municipality or by the Council of State. During the year 1903 slight disturbances occurred in connection with the enforce-

ment of the Law of Associations, but only had the effect of making the Government and the nation more determined to keep the religious orders under control, and of leading them to consider more closely the whole question of their relation to the Church of Rome.

To remedy the defects discovered in the law of 1901, the Combes Ministry carried a law in 1904 to suppress all teaching by religious bodies in conventual and monastic institutions. By this law all teaching orders are to be suppressed within a period not to exceed ten years. The work of suppression is proceeding as fast as the local authorities can provide teachers. Private schools are allowed, provided the teachers are not members of religious orders. In many places the religious orders have dissolved themselves, and in this way retained their schools. So frequently has this been the case that in some places the law is partially a dead letter. But still there is a great difference between the power exercised by men who had been bound together as an openly organised community, and that of the same men released to some extent from their bonds and teaching a school at least avowedly as laymen. Some of the orders carrying on work of benevolence and some of a contemplative character have been authorised. The work of suppressing the others has proceeded steadily, and several thousands have been closed. In this way one of the most powerful influences that has been binding the nation to Rome has been broken, and one of the most inveterate clogs on its progress has been in part taken away.

CHAPTER XVII

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

THE roots from which the present agitation for the separation of State and Church in France has grown go far back in the history of that country. Indeed, M. Aristide Briand, in his exhaustive report to the French Chamber of Deputies on the various Bills which were entrusted by it to a Commission for examination,¹ considers it necessary to go back to the conversion of Clovis to Christianity. We have not space here to trace the history of the relations of the French Government to the Church so remotely or so minutely. But one fact stands out prominently in the history of these relations. The French Government has almost always acted on the theory of the French Church to which the name *Gallicanism* has been given. It has insisted that the Roman Catholic Church in France is not absolutely under the power of Rome, and that the national Government has the right to exercise a large control over its administration. And frequently this position was taken most strongly by rulers who were most devout

¹ Aristide Briand, *La Séparation des Églises et de l'État. Rapport fait au nom de la Commission de la Chambre des Députés, suivi des pièces annexes.* 1905.

in their adherence to the Roman faith. It was never taken more strongly by any French ruler than by Louis XIV., whose ardent adherence to the Church of Rome was shown in his ruthless treatment of the Protestants of his realm. The day on which, on attaining his majority, Louis took the reins of government into his own hands, the Archbishop of Rouen, Harlay de Champvallon, was received by the king. "Sire," said he, "I have the honour to preside over the assembly of the clergy of your kingdom. Your Majesty had ordered me to address myself in all matters to M. le Cardinal Mazarin: he is dead: to whom does your Majesty wish that I address myself in future?" "To me, monsieur l'archevêque, I shall despatch you soon."¹ His famous dictum, "I am the State," he applied to ecclesiastical as well as to political affairs. In this he was supported with great ability and learning by Bossuet, who in his writings asserted the divine right of the kingdom, the authority of councils over the Pope, and the independence of the French clergy in their relation to the Court of Rome. It was in his reign that the "Declaration of 1682" was issued, which formed one of the most important documents in all subsequent controversies with the popes on the relations of Church and State in France. The first paragraph in this declaration asserted that St. Peter and his successors, the vicars of Jesus Christ, and the whole Church itself, have received authority from God only over spiritual things, and not over things temporal and civil: Jesus Christ teaching us Himself that His

¹ "A moi, monsieur l'archevêque, je vous expédierai bientôt."

kingdom is not of this world, and in another place that we must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. "In consequence we declare that kings are not subject to any ecclesiastical power by the ordinance of God in things temporal; that they cannot be deposed directly or indirectly by the authority of the head of the Church; that their subjects cannot be exempted from the submission and obedience which they owe to them, or dispensed from their oath of allegiance." The second paragraph asserted the authority of the decrees of the Council of Constance which stated the supremacy of General Councils over the Pope. The third asserted that the customs and constitutions received in the kingdom and in the Gallican Church and handed down from their fathers must be considered valid. And the fourth asserted that though the Pope has the principal part in questions of faith, and his decrees have reference to all the churches and to each church in particular, his judgment is not irreformable unless the consent of the church intervenes. In spite of protests from the Pope, the French Government insisted on maintaining this important declaration.

The next critical epoch in the history of the relations of Church and State in France was when on the famous 4th of August, 1789, the National Assembly abolished all feudal and ecclesiastical privileges, converted tithes into a money tax for the benefit of the State, and then proceeded to arrange that the clergy should be supported by a salary paid by the State. Several years of bitter conflict with

the clergy followed, as they felt bitterly the secularisation of their property and the more complete subjection to lay control into which they were brought. Finding at length that no measures they could take with regard to the clergy would be sufficient to secure their respect for the authority of the lay State, the Convention on the 18th September, 1794, passed a resolution that the Republic would no longer pay the expenses or salaries of any form of worship.

When Bonaparte secured his supremacy, he set himself to pacify the Church as a step necessary to the final establishment of order, and decided to come to terms with the Pope. After long negotiations, the celebrated Concordat of 1801 was agreed on between him and Pius VII. In this document the Government of the Republic recognised the Roman Catholic Church as the religion of the great majority of the French citizens. The Pope had desired it to go further, and implicitly deny religious liberty by saying that the Roman Catholic Church was the religion of the Republic. The Catholic religion was to be exercised freely, subject to such police regulations as the Government should consider necessary for the public tranquillity. A new arrangement of the dioceses was to be made. In accordance with this clause the number of episcopal sees was reduced to sixty, ten archbishoprics and fifty bishoprics. When this rearrangement of the dioceses was carried out, the First Consul was to nominate to the archbishoprics and bishoprics, and the Pope was to confer the canonical institution; the nominations to the sees that became vacant afterwards were to be made

in the same way by the First Consul, the canonical institution being conferred by the Pope. Each bishop was, in the presence of the First Consul, to swear allegiance to the Government established by the Constitution. The lower clergy were to swear a similar oath in the presence of the local authorities. The bishops were to nominate the parish priests, but only such persons as were acceptable to the Government. The Pope promised for the sake of peace and the happy re-establishment of the Catholic religion that neither he nor his successors would disturb in any way those who had acquired the alienated ecclesiastical property. The Government guaranteed a suitable salary to the bishops and the parish priests.

This Concordat was associated with a series of Government decrees, known as the "Articles Organiques," laying down the arrangements made by the French Government for carrying out the Concordat. The following are some of the more important provisions of these Articles. No bull or other document issued by the Papal Court was to be published in France without the authorisation of the Government. No nuncio, legate, or other officer of the Roman Court was to exercise any function in France without the same authorisation. The decrees of foreign Synods, even of General Councils, were not to be published in France till they had been examined by the Government and their conformity with the laws and rights of the Republic certified. No national, metropolitan, or diocesan synod could be held without the permission of the Government. Bishops were required to reside in their dioceses, and not to leave them without the per-

mission of the First Consul. Parish priests also were required to reside in their parishes. No foreigner could be employed in any ecclesiastical function, and no festival except Sunday could be established without Government permission.

Under this Concordat and these Organic Articles the Roman Catholic Church in France lived through all the changes of government that took place in that country during the past century. But its terms were not enforced with equal firmness by all the various administrations. The most important clause, that which gave the Government the right to nominate the bishops, was frequently allowed to become a dead letter. Sometimes it was not enforced through mere carelessness. Sometimes it was considered inadvisable to irritate the Vatican by insisting on the right. But the right was never surrendered.

To adjust the mutual claims of the Government and the Church under a Concordat or a State establishment of religion is in any circumstances a matter of great difficulty. When the Church is that of Rome, with its unlimited claims to the submission of the State to its decrees, it is especially difficult to adjust them. The resources of diplomacy were sometimes strained to make the Concordat work smoothly. Leo XIII., who was a consummate diplomatist, succeeded partially in overcoming the difficulties that arose from time to time between the Vatican and the Republic. But the advent of Pius X. on the scene changed the situation, which was made still more difficult by his choice of Cardinal Merry del Val as his Secretary of State. The Pope, whose education is defective, was attracted

by the unusual linguistic acquirements of Mgr. del Val, and by his charm of manner. But the choice was an unfortunate one. A Spaniard by birth and a Jesuit by education, he naturally takes the extreme ultramontane view of the questions that come up for consideration. Two other Jesuits, Cardinal Vives y Tutor, and the General of the Jesuits, form the inner circle of the Pope's counsellors, and a high-handed, narrow-minded, and short-sighted policy is the result. This was soon seen in the negotiations with the French Government.

The action of the Republic in suppressing the religious orders had produced strained relations between it and the Vatican. This was intensified by the "nominavit nobis" controversy. In the Bulls instituting some bishops whom the President had nominated, and which had to have the sanction of the Government before they could be published and be valid in France, the Vatican had inserted the words "nobis," implying that the President had merely nominated the bishop to the Pope for appointment and that the appointment was really in the hands of the Pope. The French Government, under the guidance of M. Combes, the Premier and Minister of Public Worship, insisted that this word must be removed before the bull was sanctioned, and as both sides refused to yield no bishop was instituted.

Relations were still further strained by the visit of the President to the King of Italy. Roman Catholic rulers had not hitherto visited the Italian sovereign. The Pope continued to protest that the presence of the King of Italy in Rome was an act of usurpation, and

Roman Catholic rulers were put in a dilemma. To visit the Pope without visiting the King would be an insult to the latter. To visit the King was to insult the Pope by disregarding the protest made by him against the occupation of Rome. President Loubet was the first Roman Catholic ruler who ventured to disregard the feelings and protests of the Pope. From the 24th to the 28th April, 1904, M. Loubet was the guest of King Victor Emmanuel, and gave no intimation to the Pope of his intention to visit Rome, and did not include a visit to the Vatican in his programme. On the 28th of April, Cardinal Merry del Val sent to the representatives of the Curia at the Courts of all the Roman Catholic powers in the world, to be communicated to the Governments to which they were commissioned, a protest against the action of the French Government. This protest aroused deep feeling against the Vatican in the minds of the French people, as an unjustifiable interference with their right to manage their own business. This feeling was greatly intensified when it was discovered that the copy of the document presented to the French Government was different from those sent to other countries, inasmuch as it omitted a clause to the effect that a similar action on the part of any other Catholic power would have led to the immediate recall of the Papal Nuncio. The French Government replied by recalling its ambassador from the Vatican and breaking off diplomatic relations with the Pope.

In the summer of the same year the friction between the French Government and the Vatican was increased by the cases of the bishops of Laval and Dijon. Bishop

Geay of Laval, in his opening discourse in his cathedral, had proclaimed his adherence to the Republic and his desire to be the shepherd of all his flock. He denounced Orleanism and refused to support reactionaries at the elections. The clerical press raised an agitation against him. During the suppression of the religious orders, in accordance with the law, he excluded the Jesuits from the pulpits and confessionals of his diocese. He was summoned to appear at Rome. He submitted the summons to the Government, as he was required by the Organic Articles to do, and he was refused permission to leave his diocese. Subsequently, under threats of excommunication, he went, and was immediately informed by the Minister of Public Worship that his salary was stopped from the day he left his diocese without permission. A similar summons to Mgr. Le Nordez, Bishop of Dijon, led to similar results, a refusal of the Government to give permission and the stoppage of his salary on his disobedience. The action of the Vatican on these occasions still further exasperated the minds of those French citizens who were irritated by previous high-handed measures, and strengthened the agitation for the separation of Church and State.

In the month of October, 1904, M. Combes, replying to several interpellations addressed to the Government, reviewed the history of the relations of the Vatican to the Republic since its foundation in 1870, and showed that there had been a continuous disregard of the Concordat and of the Organic Articles by the Vatican, and that clericalism had been the most inveterate enemy of the Republic. He showed that no stipulations

could safeguard the rights of the State, which were denied by the doctrines of the Catholic Church. The confidence of the Chamber was expressed by a vote of 548 to 88. In November he introduced a Bill for the separation of Church and State, which was referred to a Commission, by which it was adopted on the 2nd December. In the middle of January, 1905, M. Combes, owing to resentment at certain incidents in connection with the administration of the army, carried a vote of confidence by a majority of only ten votes and resigned. Before the end of the month a new Cabinet under the presidency of M. Rouvier, retaining several members of M. Combes' administration, was formed, which asserted its determination to carry out the policy of its predecessor in its relations with the Vatican. The Chamber of Deputies referred to a new Commission all the Bills dealing with the question of Church and State which had been presented to it, including that of M. Combes. Instead of adopting any one of them, the Commission decided to draft its own Bill, and shortly afterwards presented to the Chamber a Bill which engaged the close attention of the deputies for several months in the spring and summer of the year 1905. It passed through the Chamber on the 3rd of July, and was sent to the Senate the following day.

The first article guarantees liberty of conscience and the free exercise of public worship, with such restrictions only as are provided in the interest of public order. The second states that the Republic does not recognise, or pay salaries to, or subsidise any form of worship, and that from the 1st of January after the passing of the law the budget of worship ceases. The fourth

article is one on which there was a considerable amount of discussion, and many are not satisfied with the form in which it passed. It provides that within a year after the promulgation of the law the property of the churches will be transferred to associations formed in accordance with a later article. The clause that has caused some dissatisfaction is one decreeing that these associations are to be formed in accordance with the rules of general organisation of the form of worship the exercise of which they propose to secure. This is supposed to guarantee that in the Roman Catholic Church the association formed in each congregation to hold the church property will be compelled to submit to the authority of the bishop, and that no association will be recognised by the State unless it has his approval. The form in which it was originally presented to the Chamber would have enabled the State to decide which of two or more competing associations would be recognised, and thus a greater amount of freedom might have been introduced into the Church. M. Bourrier and others were convinced that such a provision would have resulted in a schism of considerable extent, as the people and the priests asserted their desire for emancipation from the Vatican. But the majority of the deputies did not seem to relish the idea of an extensive schism or series of schisms.

Arrangements are made in article eleven for the payment of pensions to ministers of religion. Those who are sixty years of age, and have been in office for at least thirty years, will receive a pension for life of three-fourths of the salary they receive from the State. Those who are forty-five years old, and have served

at least twenty years, will receive a pension equal to half their salaries. These pensions will be continued to their widows and orphan children under age to the extent of half the amount, and to widows without children under age to the extent of a quarter of the amount. Ministers of religion who have not reached the age and length of service for which these pensions are provided will receive the full salary for a year after the passing of the Act, two-thirds the second year, half the third year, and one-third the fourth year, and then all claim on the State ceases.

Buildings used for public worship which belong to the State, and these include all erected before the Concordat of 1801, and all to the erection or repair of which the State or the municipalities have contributed, will be put, free of charge, at the disposal of the associations already referred to, but will be resumed by the State if the association is dissolved, if worship ceases to be held in them for six months, if the association fails to fulfil the purpose for which it was formed, if the property is not kept in adequate repair, and if certain other conditions are not complied with. The residences of the archbishops and bishops will be given rent free for two years, the residences of the priests and ministers for five years, after which the free use of them ceases. Buildings that have an artistic or historical value are to be scheduled, as well as monuments and furniture and decorations which have special value for the same reasons. These can only be parted with on the consent of the State, and the use of the buildings can be withdrawn if these are not carefully repaired and preserved. To the repairs of buildings,

monuments, etc., of historical or artistic interest the State may contribute.

Associations formed to receive and administer Church property must consist of 7 persons in a commune of less than 1000 in population; of 15 in one of more than 1000 and less than 20,000; in larger communes of 25. They are required to keep and submit for inspection a record of their transactions, and supply an annual statement of their receipts and expenditure. A very important provision is that these local associations may form unions having a central administration. It was at first proposed to refuse or limit this right, the desire being to limit the organised power of the Church of Rome. But it was felt that this was an undue interference with the right of organisation, and that it would destroy the fundamental principle on which nearly all the Protestant Churches in the country are organised, namely, that of presbyteries and a national synod. From this follows the provision that associations can transfer their surplus of receipts over expenditure to other associations formed for the same purpose, thus enabling the strong to help the weak.

Article twenty-two contains provisions of a very important kind, evidently intended to curb the financial power of the Church of Rome. It decrees that associations can employ their surplus funds for the establishment of a reserve fund sufficient for the maintenance of worship, but cannot use the reserve for any other purpose. Associations having an average income of more than 5000 francs (£200) are not to be allowed to accumulate a reserve fund of more than

three times that amount, and in the case of other associations, of more than six times their average annual income. In addition to this, however, an association may accumulate a special reserve fund for the erection, decoration, or repair of their church buildings, to be deposited with the Government till used for those purposes. This will render it impossible for a powerful organisation like the Church of Rome to amass large sums to be used for aggressive or anti-national purposes.

It is forbidden to hold political meetings in buildings devoted to religious worship. But a clause in the Bill, as originally drafted, which forbade the holding of religious processions or meetings in the streets, has been rejected, and such processions are to be regulated according to the municipal law of 1884, as hitherto. To have carried the original proposal would have seriously hampered the evangelistic work of the Protestant Churches. For eight years after the promulgation of the law ministers of religion will not be eligible for election to the municipal councils of the communes in which they exercise their ecclesiastical functions. This is intended to prevent clerical intervention in municipal affairs during the critical years in which the community is settling down to the new situation.

The Senate made no alterations in the Bill, and it became law on the 6th of December 1905. It is evident that it will produce a revolution in the state of the Churches in France. For the Protestant Churches it will cause a financial crisis for a few years. But it will free them from restraints that have hindered their full develop-

ment. But the effect on the Roman Catholic Church will be more serious. It is believed that when the Government salary is withdrawn hundreds of churches will have to be closed, as there is not sufficient interest taken in the Church to induce the parishioners to pay enough to support it. If any parish church is closed through the neglect of any of the conditions under which the associations hold them, the property reverts to the State, which will then offer it to other associations for public worship. In this way some of it may be obtained by Protestants, or by those who are not willing to support the Church of Rome in its present ultramontane form, but will organise themselves on another basis. So the schism which article four in its present form was intended to prevent will probably come in part.

It is the opinion of M. Bourrier that the schism has already begun. In *Le Chrétien Français* for the 1st of July 1905, he has an interesting article entitled "The Commencement of the Schism." In it he refers to the case of the parish of Belmontet, which recently for over a year succeeded in keeping a priest whom the bishop wished to remove, and which gave an immense stimulus to the idea of separation of Church and State which has since then advanced so rapidly. He says the associations for worship will do the rest. He asserts that to his knowledge about twenty parishes had already effected to a greater or less extent a revolt against the hierarchy which will be completed when the law passes. He then proceeds to prove his point by giving details of the case of the Abbé Hutin, who had for the greater part of a year been holding his parish

in defiance of his bishop, but with the entire approbation of his congregation, who have refused to allow the nominee of the bishop to enter the parish. The ground of his offence is that he has ceased to believe in the distinctive doctrines of Romanism, and has been preaching the Gospel to his congregation. This and similar cases will be watched with much interest under the operations of the new law which gives the congregations a freer hand in the management of their own affairs than they have at present.

CHAPTER XVIII

BELGIUM¹

By the Edict of Toleration in the year 1781, the inhabitants of Belgium, as well as the other subjects of Joseph II., were granted religious liberty. But against this liberty the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church raised the most vigorous protest, and helped to bring about the Revolution of 1789 in Brabant to stop it. When Belgium was united to Holland in 1814, the Dutch gave full religious liberty, and paid the salaries of the pastors of sixteen Protestant Churches. This state of union with a Protestant power was extremely distasteful to the clerical party, and it was largely through their approval that the independence of Belgium was achieved in 1830. But under the new régime of Leopold religious toleration was continued. The new constitution is entirely free. The wave of enthusiasm for liberty that passed over Europe during the year 1830, and affected to some extent for a time even the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, secured an admirable constitution for the new country.

¹ See 'Fritze, *Los von Rom und Hin zum Evangelium in Belgien*; Leonard Anet, *Histoire des trente premières années de la société évangélique ou église chrétienne missionnaire belge*, 1875; *Jubilé Cinquantenaire, Histoire du Synode de l'Union des églises protestantes évangéliques de Belgique*, 1839-1889 (written by Pastor Wagener, a minister of the Union).

After the establishment of the new kingdom the arrangement was continued by which the Government paid the salaries of those Protestant ministers whose congregations were recognised by the State. For a few years there were only seven of these, and they did not give much evidence of spiritual life. But about the time of the Revolution a religious revival took place under the influence of Pastors Charlier and Merle d'Aubigné and of a German layman named Mertens. A Bible Society was founded which did excellent work in the dissemination of the Scriptures. In 1839 the various Protestant congregations were united into a Synod on Presbyterian lines. In the same year one of the most important steps in the evangelisation of Belgium was taken in the establishment of the Société évangélique for the preaching of the Gospel among the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the country. Almost immediately afterwards strained relations arose between this Society and the Synod, and the Society separated itself from the Synod and eventually organised itself as a separate Church under the name of the Église chrétienne missionnaire belge, also on Presbyterian lines. The discord between the two Churches soon passed away, and the most cordial relations have long existed between them.

The state-endowed Church has now sixteen congregations. Some of these are composed of foreign residents, and the services are carried on in the mother tongue of the members of the congregation. Some of them owe their origin to groups of converts from Romanism. There has been a growing missionary spirit in the Union des églises protestantes évangéliques, as this

group of churches is called, and in connection with several of them there are mission stations for preaching the Gospel to Roman Catholics, and a number of evangelists are entirely engaged in this more aggressive work. There are said to be about 16,000 or 18,000 persons in connection with this Union.

The Église chrétienne missionnaire belge, according to its Report for 1903, had thirty-five congregations supplied by pastors, sixty-five other stations where the Gospel is regularly preached, and sixty-three where services are held at irregular intervals. In this Church there are about 10,000 persons, all with the exception of about 400 the result of mission work among Roman Catholics. The Irvingites, the Plymouth Brethren, the Salvation Army, and other denominations are represented by small flocks.

In recent years there has been a remarkable growth of spiritual and philanthropic activity among the Protestants of Belgium, and they are growing in the esteem of the community. In the years 1871 to 1876 a vigorous effort was made under the leadership of the distinguished economist, Émile de Laveleye, to bring about a movement *en masse* to Protestantism, but without success, though a few important persons joined the Protestant Churches. The distinguished statesman, Frère-Orban, was favourably disposed to Protestantism, and his funeral service was conducted by Protestant ministers. But progress is particularly marked among the working classes, and specially among the mining and artisan population of the districts around Liège, Charleroi, and Mons. In these three districts considerable groups of Protestant

congregations have been formed, and have begun to exercise a decided influence on the population. This is important, as it is of the greatest consequence that the growing socialism of the working classes should assume a Christian and not an atheistic character. We are not without evidence that Protestantism is exercising an influence in that direction.

A number of priests in Belgium have become Protestants. The best known of these are Abel Sallé, a colleague of M. Bourrier in his work among the French priests, and a frequent contributor to *Le Chretien Français*; and Baron Bethune. The latter belongs to a noble and strictly Catholic family in Belgium. He took part in founding the famous Benedictine monastery of Maredsou, but later he seceded from the order and joined the Old Catholic Church in Switzerland. Afterwards he became a Protestant and worked in France in connection with the McAll Mission. Under pressure from his family, he abstained for a considerable time from working in his native land, but he has recently returned to Belgium and begun evangelistic work in connection with the Église missionnaire. The work of evangelising the country would probably make still greater progress if there were a larger number of native Belgians available as preachers. The ministerial staff is largely drawn from abroad, ministers from Holland working among the Flemish, and from Switzerland among the French-speaking Walloons.

In Belgium, as in other Roman Catholic countries, the conflicts of political life tend to become more and more a struggle of the people for freedom from the

papal domination that is crushing the national life. The clerical party came into power in 1870 with a small majority, and maintained its position till 1878. During these years the hierarchy did all in their power to bring the country under the control of the Papacy, and demanded the application of the Syllabus to the affairs of the nation. At a great banquet at Malines, presided over by the primate of Belgium, the health of the Pope was drunk before that of the King. These things led to a union of the disunited Liberals, who returned to office in 1878 under the leadership of Frère-Orban. The conflict then broke out on the question of the schools, the clergy wishing to retain under their control the education of the young, so as to keep them in pious ignorance. In 1879 an Act was passed putting education in the hands of laymen. The bishops met, and decided to excommunicate all heads of families who sent their children to the State schools. Frère-Orban demanded from the Pope that he should disavow this action, and on the Pope's refusal gave the papal nuncio his passports. The struggle now became thoroughly embittered. But the Liberals, instead of subordinating everything to the great question of spiritual freedom, allowed themselves to be divided, and in consequence the clericals returned to power in 1884, and by means of a system of multiple voting they have succeeded in retaining their place ever since. The consequence is that the designs of the Church of Rome have been carried out unhindered, in spite of constant riots and threats of insurrection. The interest of the Church in education may be measured by the fact that in 1901

there were 267 communes without a school of any kind ; 2242 schools had been closed and 1500 teachers thrown out of employment, while to take their places 1359 monastic schools had been opened and 3022 monks and nuns appointed at the public expense to teach in them.

Under this clerical domination the growth of the monastic institutions has been enormous. On the 15th October, 1846, there were in Belgium 779 monastic establishments with 11,968 inmates, of whom 1453 were foreigners. On the 15th April, 1900, these numbers had increased to 2221 monasteries with 37,684 inmates, of whom 5913 were foreigners. Thus in a little more than half a century the number of monks and nuns had tripled, the number of foreign inmates in the establishments had quintupled.¹ The accumulated wealth of these men and women dedicated to poverty is incalculable. The latest return gives it at 1,035,346,000 francs, or over £41,000,000. To this must be added the value of lands, factories, shops, and houses held for them in the name of others. It is not to be wondered at that political life is embittered in Belgium to an extent that is difficult to estimate. At the last election the clerical majority, in spite of the system of voting by which it is maintained, fell from 72 to 20. So probably its day of power is drawing to a close. When it does, the outlook for the progress of Protestantism will brighten.²

¹ Since the dissolution of the monasteries in France these numbers have been largely increased by immigration of religious orders from that country.

² For the facts in the latter part of this chapter see Guyot, *Le Bilan social et politique de l'église*, 1902, pp. 104-9.

A movement similar to the Christian Democracy in Italy has recently begun in Belgium. There it is known as the "Christene Volkspartij," the Christian People's Party, and is led by two priests, the Abbé Daens and the Abbé Fonteyne. These men were called to account by their bishop, and asked to explain their attitude to the circular of Cardinal del Val, condemning such movements. Their answer was that the Cardinal's letter had no foundation, as the Christian Democrats, in consequence of their political and social independence, did not recognise the authority of the Pope in this department, and that the letter of the Secretary of State would have no influence whatever on the political position of the country. The two priests have been suspended. But the Abbé Daens thereupon declared that they would go on with their work. It is to be hoped that this indicates a breach in the solidarity of the clerical ranks in Belgium.¹

¹ *Deutsch-evangelische Korrespondenz*, April 15th, 1905.

CHAPTER XIX

THE REVIVAL OF PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN¹

THE beginning of the Protestant revival in Spain is inseparably associated with the name of Francisco de Paula Ruet.² The son of the colonel of a Cantabrian regiment, he received the rather defective education then available in Spain. On the death of his father, he decided to go on the stage, and at the age of nineteen we find him in Turin as a singer. Piedmont, of which Turin was the capital, was at that time the only part of Italy that enjoyed religious liberty. Seeing a number of people flocking into a Waldensian church one day, he was prompted by curiosity to enter, and heard a sermon from Dr. Luigi de Sanctis which changed his whole life. On leaving the church he bought a New Testament. He was further instructed by Pastor Meille, and at length was received into the Waldensian Church, and prepared by it for his future work. When the Revolution of 1855 secured for Spain a short period of religious liberty, Ruet, then

¹ See Mrs. Robert Peddie, *The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain*, 1871.

² See article on Ruet by Fliedner in Herzog, *Realencyklopädie*, 2nd ed. vol. xiii. pp. 96-97.

in his twenty-ninth year, hurried to his native land, to preach the Gospel. For a month he preached in Barcelona to great crowds. Then he was arrested by the Governor, but soon set at liberty again. Next the military commander stirred up by the priests had him put in prison, but once more he secured his freedom through his military connections, and continued his preaching for a few weeks, when the political reaction set in which enabled the bishop to have him brought before his ecclesiastical court. After seven months' imprisonment, he was condemned by this Church court to the stake as a heretic. But even in Spain it was no longer possible to carry out such a sentence, and it was commuted in September 1856 to lifelong banishment. Smiling when he heard this judgment, he was asked if he did not care for his fatherland. "It is not that," he replied, "but I do not believe in lifelong banishment. I hope in God that I shall yet preach the Gospel in Madrid."

A Spanish man-of-war set him ashore in Gibraltar. There he set to work at once among the Spanish population, and gathered together a small congregation, over which he was ordained as pastor by the Waldensian Church. From here the light began to spread into Spain. Many Spaniards in passing through Gibraltar attended his services and were brought to the knowledge of the truth, and on their return to their native land quietly spread the faith among their acquaintances. In this way there arose little groups of Protestants in many places who gathered together to study the Bible. Then the Spanish

Government, becoming aware of what was going on, stopped it to a great extent by carefully watching the English frontier near Gibraltar. He preached to his countrymen in London during the Exhibition, and then in the service of a French Committee went to Algiers, where he worked successfully for several years among the numerous Spaniards at Oran and elsewhere. When the Revolution of 1868 brought religious liberty once more, he returned to Spain, realised the wish he had expressed of preaching in Madrid, and gathered a congregation there. His restless activity brought on weak health, and he succumbed to an attack of typhus in November 1878.

The name of Manuel Matamoros¹ will always be associated with that of Ruet in connection with the revival of Protestantism in Spain. Born in 1835, the son of a captain of artillery, he joined the school for cadets at Toledo in 1850 with a view to following his father's profession. But the rough soldier-life with which he there came into contact was so distasteful to him that he left the school before finishing his course. Taking a journey to Gibraltar, he there met Ruet, and was led by him to the study of the New Testament and to the light and peace of the Gospel. When he returned to Spain to serve in the army the period prescribed by the law, he worked earnestly among his comrades to lead them to the light. On account of this he suffered great persecution, and was in consequence bought out of the army by his mother. He then set himself to preach the

¹ Herzog, *Realencyklopädie*, 2nd ed. vol. ix. pp. 395-7; Mrs. Peddie, *The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain*, p. 142.

Gospel in different parts of Spain, and found his labours abundantly blessed. At length he and several friends were arrested and thrown into prison in the year 1862. After several months of confinement with common criminals, they were condemned to nine and seven years at the galleys. The case excited the deepest interest in Protestant countries, and an important deputation was sent to Spain by the Evangelical Alliance to seek an interview with the Queen and try to obtain some mitigation of this barbarous sentence. The audience with the Queen did not take place, for before its arrival the public opinion of Europe had made its influence felt, and the sentence was changed to one of banishment. Matamoros did not survive his banishment for many years. His imprisonment had sown the seeds of consumption in a frame never very robust, and he died in Lausanne after a brief but successful career as an evangelist of his fellow-countrymen.

One of the Protestant leaders who came under the sentence of banishment was Carrasco, the orator of the revival. He lived in Germany till the Revolution of 1868 gave him liberty to return, a liberty of which he immediately availed himself, and for several years worked most successfully in Madrid as pastor of a congregation. But on the voyage home from the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873 the ship in which he sailed foundered, and he perished with her.

Since the year 1868 there has been liberty of conscience and of worship, though the latter has been somewhat restricted by a subsequent clause

which decreed that Protestant worship might be carried on but not with any "public manifestation." This, which is known as the "elastic clause," may mean anything according to the interpretation put on it by the individual magistrate to whom its administration is entrusted, and is often the excuse for a considerable amount of petty tyranny. But the successes of Protestantism in Spain were more marked in its early days under the leadership of Ruet, Carrasco, and their companions. The joy of their new-found freedom led many to accept gladly the message of the Gospel. The outlook seemed to be for a time bright beyond all expectation. From all Protestant countries workers flocked into the newly opened land. Churches and halls were opened all over the country, and little congregations gathered into them.¹ But it was soon found that Spain was not to be taken by storm, that a long siege must be laid to it, and that the progress of the Gospel must be achieved slowly and patiently, and wisdom learned by experience.

Many things have contributed to the disappointment of the bright hopes cherished in these early days of Spanish evangelisation. In the early rush of members into the Church some were inevitably received who proved to be tares among the wheat, and who had to be gradually eliminated. Then many of the evangelists of Spanish birth who had been driven from the country, and had been waiting for the opportunity of returning and preaching to

¹ Grape, *Spanien und das Evangelium. Ergebnisse einer neunmonatigen Studienreise.* Halle a. S., 1896.

their countrymen, had been absent so long and so much in contact with ways of thinking very different from those of their native land that they were almost foreigners when they returned, and even their mother tongue did not always come readily to them. Still more important was the fact that there was a rush of foreign evangelists into Spain. The Gospel, if it is to meet with assured success, must be preached by natives familiar with the language and modes of thought of those whom they wish to influence, and able to present it in the light that will make it intelligible and impressive. This principle, which is important everywhere, is specially so in Spain, where national pride and sensitiveness are probably stronger than in any other country in the world. The Gospel has come to the Spaniard almost invariably as a foreign importation, and his prejudices have been aroused against it. One of the main efforts of the Protestant missions in Spain must be the speedy raising up of a band of native workers from whom the Gospel message will come with all the attractiveness of a native growth.

Then again the influence of Protestantism has been hindered very greatly by the endless divisions that have characterised it. This is more or less true of Protestant missions nearly everywhere, but probably nowhere to the extent that may be seen in Spain. All the main divisions of Protestantism, from Anglicanism to Plymouthism, are represented there, and in addition may be found missions conducted by people not professing connection with any recognised body. It is well that the Gospel should

be preached, by whomsoever it is done. But anyone acquainted with Spanish ways must see what a barrier these divisions are to the real progress of the Gospel. Anything that would draw these different denominations into closer co-operation and obliterate some of the distinctions would prove a help to the work.

And then it must be remembered that this new Reformation, unlike that of the sixteenth century in Spain, finds its adherents not among the influential and the educated classes, but among the poor, and their acceptance of Protestantism means frequently the increase of their poverty, and often involves their emigration and their loss to the cause at home. In this way the numbers are kept lower than they would otherwise be, and the apparent success of the work is minimised.

The mission that is probably best known in this country is that conducted by the Anglican Church, at the head of which stands Bishop Cabrera. Cabrera was originally a Roman Catholic priest, and belonged to a teaching order. One day when teaching in school he noticed that one of the children had a little book of a peculiar appearance in his hand. He got the book, and found that it was an evangelical Catechism published in New York. Protestant books, tracts, and New Testaments were at the time forbidden in Spain, but were often smuggled into the country by foreign sea captains and passed through the land from hand to hand. For a considerable time Cabrera had cherished doubts whether the teachings of the Roman Church

were really in harmony with the Scriptures, doubts that came from the study of the Latin Vulgate. These doubts had led to severe struggles of conscience. Now this little book clearly expressed what he had long suspected. He made his way to Gibraltar to Ruet, and there learned the way of salvation through faith in Christ. He became Ruet's successor in Gibraltar, and afterwards held a pastorate in Seville, and finally in Madrid. Up to the year 1885 he was a pronounced Presbyterian, and as such had played an important part in the work of the Gospel in Spain. Then he suddenly went over to the Episcopalian Church, and became bishop of their mission in Spain. World-wide attention was at one time drawn to him and his work by the refusal for a while of the Spanish Government to allow the opening of a handsome church erected by the mission in Madrid. The Episcopalians have about a dozen congregations in different parts of Spain.

The Americans have an important mission in the north of Spain, which for a short time was known as the Iberian Evangelical Union, but afterwards joined the Evangelical Spanish Church, the union which now embraces nearly all the congregations except the Episcopalians, the Methodists, and the Baptists. This union is not as yet very effective, but it is to be hoped that as time goes on it will become much closer and more extensive than it is at present.

There is probably no part of Spain in which the revolt against Romanism has made so much pro-

gress as in and around the city of Barcelona. No city except Madrid has so many evangelical agencies at work in it. One of the most interesting of these has been long conducted by an English Baptist, named Armstrong, and his wife. Mr. Armstrong in his early days acquired considerable wealth in South America, and also imbibed a deep interest in Spain. Instead of retiring to enjoy his later years in idleness, he settled in Spain to carry on mission work. To this he devoted himself with great zeal. He set himself to help in sickness and poverty, and at the same time to turn the thoughts of those he assisted to spiritual things. A few converts were then gathered into a house congregation which met together to study the Word of God and edify one another. Such groups of Christians brought to a knowledge of the Gospel are said to be found not only in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, but also throughout all Catalonia and south into the provinces of Valencia and Murcia. That this was the primitive method of spreading the Gospel there can be no doubt, and Mr. Armstrong was of opinion that it was the only way in which Spain could be effectively evangelised. The charge has sometimes been brought against the missions in Spain that frequently, by the aid of foreign money, churches have been erected and congregations established before there were Christians to form them, and that this is the cause of the want of subsequent success. This mistake Mr. Armstrong desired to avoid. He also would not bind these house congregations together in a firm ecclesiastical bond, or call them

Baptist or any other name, but would leave this to subsequent development. It remains for the future to show to what extent this mode of evangelisation is suited to the circumstances of the country. No method is so completely successful as to have acquired a right to say it is the one proper way of reaching the heart of Spain.

The province of Andalusia has always been one of the most hopeful fields of evangelistic effort in Spain. Here the work is principally Presbyterian. In this district the most important agency is undoubtedly the College in Puerto de Santa Maria maintained by the Irish Presbyterian Church for the education of teachers and pastors. There is an urgent need in Spain of carefully trained Protestant teachers, and a still more urgent need of pastors trained in their own country, to do the work hitherto done by foreigners or by Spaniards who through long residence abroad had largely lost touch with their own people. The Presbytery of Andalusia felt this need, and applied to the Irish Presbyterian Church to appoint the Rev. William (afterwards Dr.) Moore as the Principal of the proposed College. Mr. Moore had previously worked in Madrid, but had for some time been minister of a congregation in Ireland. The College was opened in Puerto de Santa Maria in 1883. The teaching staff consists of the principal and several neighbouring pastors. There is a three years' preparatory course, taken, with slight variations, both by those who propose to become teachers and those looking forward to the ministry. Then there is a four years' course for theological students which

embraces all the usual subjects of a theological curriculum. The College supplies pastors to all the Evangelical Churches in Spain, and has received unstinted praise from those who are acquainted with its work. It is the only institution of the kind in the country. Dr. Moore died in 1896, and was succeeded by the present Principal, Rev. W. B. Douglas, B.D.

One of the best known evangelical workers in Spain was the late Pastor Fliedner, the head of the German mission. As a direct evangelistic agency Fliedner's mission does not take a prominent place, but it has done educational and literary work of the most valuable kind. An orphanage, several elementary schools, and a high school are conducted by the mission. Fliedner also founded and conducted a fortnightly review, *La Revista Cristiana*, and a paper for children, *El Amigo de la Infancia*.

Nearly all the missions in Spain spend a good deal of strength on educational work, but there seems to be the same diversity of opinion on this subject as on that of educational work in the foreign mission field. Advocates of educational work point to the widespread illiteracy of the Spanish population, and maintain that there can be no wide distribution of the Scriptures till education is more extensively enjoyed by the people. Others maintain that few of those Roman Catholic children who are educated in the mission schools become Protestants afterwards, and that the educational work of the mission should be confined to giving education to the children of the converts.

The opinion of the workers on the field seems to be that while the visible results of missions are less than

in the first enthusiasm of 1868-69, the real results are more satisfactory. Then many came who had afterwards to be eliminated. Now those who join a Protestant Church can generally be depended on as coming from real convictions and experience of the power of the Gospel. When there has been more time to show what the Gospel makes of the material that comes under its operations, and when the spirit of revolt against Romanism that is at present growing has become stronger, we may look for more striking results.

CHAPTER XX

SIGNS OF NATIONAL REVOLT AGAINST THE PAPACY IN SPAIN

THE outlook for the future of Spain does not depend on the number and efficiency of the evangelistic forces at work there at present, but also on the signs of revolt against the Papacy which have recently begun to show themselves. Up to the date of the Spanish-American War the ecclesiastical reaction seemed to continue unabated. But the result of the war with the United States opened the eyes of many in Spain to the extent to which the national strength and resources had been destroyed by the domination of the Roman Catholic Church. It furnished the Spanish nation with an object lesson which some were able to read clearly. A remarkable article appeared at the time in the Spanish newspaper *El Orden*,¹ attributing the defeat to the deteriorating influence of Romanism. The nation is awakening to a sense of the curse that clericalism and monasticism have brought on it. The most popular plays on the Spanish stage to-day are those that expose the tyranny and intrigues of the clergy and the Jesuits. Picon in several of his dramas, especially in *El Enemigo*, has

¹ Quoted by Fliedner in *Der Protestantismus am Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, p. 1104.

made a spirited attack on clerical tyranny. Pérez Galdós, one of the most popular authors in Spain, a few years ago wrote a play called *Electra*, which in all parts of Spain elicited the wildest enthusiasm by its attack on the Jesuits. Pey Ordeix, to whom I shall have occasion to refer again, in a play called *Paternidad*, made a similar attack on that order.

The opinions of the people about the religious orders have not been confined to applauding stage plays. Processions of monks have frequently of late given rise to violent assaults and riots. So strong did the feeling become that the Government was compelled to take in hand the regulation of the religious associations. Laws passed in 1835 and 1836 suppressed the monasteries and confiscated their property; but in the course of time this law came to be ignored, and many orders established themselves. But the strong national feeling prompted the Ministry of the late Señor Sagasta to announce in the summer of 1901 that a Bill would be introduced declaring which associations were legal and which not. In September of the same year a royal decree was published ordering all religious and political associations to comply with the law regarding registration. In the spring of 1902 the Government ordered all religious associations not authorised by the Concordat to be registered within six months under penalty of dissolution, and instructed the provincial governors to furnish information regarding religious establishments in their districts. In the summer the Minister of the Interior announced that there were 3115 religious communities in the country, with 50,933 members, of whom 40,188 were women, and 10,745

men. Those that had sought and obtained registration numbered 2611; 150 cases were held over pending further investigation; and of the remaining 354 the greater part were exempt from registration according to the terms of the Concordat. The official Liberals in Spain, in spite of their professions, could never be counted on to put a real restraint on clericalism, and this supposed settlement was probably intended to be a shelving of a troublesome question. But it is not likely to be shelved so easily. One of the strongest politicians on the Liberal side is Señor Canalejas. He resigned his office in the Sagasta Ministry in the end of May 1903, largely on account of the attitude of the Ministry on the religious question, and started a vigorous agitation throughout the country against the clergy and the religious orders, which is likely to bear fruit later on.

It is also worthy of note that the most widely read newspaper in Spain, *El País*, is bitterly anti-clerical, and seizes every opportunity of exposing the character and conduct of the clergy and the monks and nuns.

But it is not only in the political sphere that signs of revolt against the Papacy are beginning to manifest themselves. Inside the Church itself there are also evidences of incipient revolt. One name has been specially prominent in this connection. In Barcelona there is a priest named Segismondo Pey Ordeix¹ who has for several years conducted

¹ On Pey Ordeix, see Hagemann, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Spanien*, 1902, pp. 24-26; and *Le Chrétien Français*, 18th July, 1901; *The Converted Catholic*, vol. xviii. pp. 171-74.

an agitation for the establishment of a national Church independent of the Papacy. He conducted a constant and spirited attack on the Jesuits, to whom he ascribed a large share in the ruin of Spain. He boldly accused them of using their influence to have wills made in favour of their order, of interfering with and disturbing the peace of families, even to the extent of separating husband and wife, of openly flattering rich ladies in order to acquire their possessions, of founding numberless establishments of Jesuits and other religious orders friendly to them, of killing Government and private schools by means of their educational institutions, of taking the bread out of the mouths of thousands of working men by their industrial undertakings and asylums, and of exploiting their churches in such a way as to throw the secular clergy on the alms of the public. He charged them also with siding now with the Carlists against the Government and then with the Government against the Carlists, in such a way as to undermine the stability of the country and make prosperity impossible, so that the Society of Jesus has become the most disintegrating element in the political, religious, and social life of Spain to-day.

In support of his agitation he issued a newspaper, *El Urbion*, in which he criticised the action and influence of the Church of Rome in a very incisive manner. He blamed the Church for the disappearance of the true worship of God and of the following of the crucified Redeemer; for exaggerated and idolatrous worship of saints, of the Sacred Heart,

and of other objects ; for the decrease of real Christian virtues, such as justice, prudence, temperance, and the increase of religious practices intended only to influence the senses, such as processions, festivals, and the whole round of ceremonies ; for the neglect of the Gospel and the growing exaggeration of ecclesiastical authority, and especially for centralisation of it in the Vatican ; for simony and favouritism in the episcopal and papal administration ; for the arbitrariness and tyranny of the superior towards the inferior clergy and towards the people. This paper was suppressed by his bishop, but he founded a second in its place. This in turn was also suppressed, and then he issued a third, *El Cosmopolita*, which after a while met the same fate. A crisis was brought about when the Bishop of Barcelona gave instructions that all his priests should keep regular accounts of all the money they received for masses. Against this, Pey Ordeix protested in the name of his brother priests. "If the bishop takes all his priests for robbers, why does he not suspend them? And if he wants us to keep an account of every little gift we receive for his inspection, why does the bishop not also publish an account of his receipts, and, above all, of the way in which he spends his money and fabulous wealth, for our inspection?"

He was supported in his indignant protest by about two hundred priests of the diocese, and the bishop appealed to the Government to arrest the refractory priests. But the Government was afraid to do so, for fear of a general disturbance. Pey Ordeix was suspended by the bishop and forbidden to enter a

church. He replied: "You forbid me to enter a church? Well and good: I can speak to the people in the theatres and public halls just as well as in a church. You forbid me to administer the sacraments, but I am free to preach the Gospel in the open air, on the streets and public highways. The day when I respected your tyranny and rapacity is over, and I shall go forth with as many of my friends as will follow me to preach Christ and the Gospel."

The suspension by the bishop only increased his popularity with the people. During the months of February and March, 1901, he went from town to town addressing crowded audiences, and everywhere arousing indignation against the yoke of clericalism. He also called the stage to his aid, publishing a drama, *Paternidad*, in which he exposed the intrigues of the Jesuits. This play met with an enthusiastic reception, and on its first appearance he was compelled to come on the stage and receive the congratulations of the audience. His agitation has given a great impetus to the anti-clerical feeling that is so strong in Spain. But those who cherished the hope that he would prove the successful leader of a great revolt from the Papacy were doomed to disappointment. The forces of the Church of Rome are so deeply entrenched in the social and political organisation of the nation that victory over them is difficult. His Jesuit enemies, whom he had attacked so relentlessly, proved too strong for him, and reduced him to great poverty and distress, and eventually, early in 1903, he made his peace with the Church, publishing a formal retraction of the

charges he had made against her. The weak point of his attack is probably to be found in the deficiency of the religious element in it. If he had been able to go, as he threatened, into the public highways and preach the Gospel, not merely as a weapon of attack against the Church of Rome, but with the power that comes from a personal experience of its effect, the fate of his agitation would perhaps have been different.

But the suppression of Pey Ordeix has not suppressed anti-clericalism. Outbreaks of it are frequent. One proof of a growing independence of the people in matters relating to the administration of the affairs of the Church is seen in the Nozaleda incident. When the Philippines were taken possession of by the American Government, Nozaleda, who was the leading ecclesiastical functionary in the Islands, came home to Spain. The Church rewarded him for his services in the East by promoting him to the archiepiscopal see of Valencia. But to this choice the people of Valencia took decided exception, and refused to allow his induction. He has not yet been able even to visit the city from which he derives his title or to assume the functions of his office, for a rumour that he is about to come excites the people to the verge of rebellion.

A further proof of the strength of anti-clerical feeling in Valencia was given in connection with the festival of the jubilee of the Proclamation of the Immaculate Conception in December 1904. The usual preparations were made for the fête in that city. But a circular issued immediately before its celebration

showed that it was to be exploited for the advancement of clericalism. Such was the public indignation, that a ceremony which would probably have been viewed with comparative indifference became the scene of a bloody riot, and great ill-will was manifested throughout the country at the action of the clergy in the matter.

Anti-clericalism is not Christianity ; but in a country like Spain it is probably a necessary preparation for the spread of truer views of spiritual freedom : for until the power of the priests is broken and the people liberated from the tyranny of the Jesuits, it will not be possible for the preaching of the Gospel to reach the masses.

A new spirit seems, however, to be entering into the life of the Spanish people, and a new era about to open for them. They are beginning to refuse to acquiesce in the policy of persecuting Protestants, to which the clergy have long been trying to incite them. Owing to the influence of the ecclesiastical power over the Government, acts of official persecution have been only too common, and seldom called forth any public protest. But the more influential papers are at length awakening to the shame that religious persecution brings on the nation. At its meeting on the 18th May, 1905, the Assembly of the Evangelical Spanish Church felt compelled to draw up an address to the King, directing his attention to the acts of persecution to which Protestants were frequently subjected, although their liberties were secured to them by the Constitution. The address was published in the most influential papers in the

country, and warmly approved by many of them. The *Heraldo de Madrid* made it the text for an article on religious toleration, in which it said: "Religious tolerance is an indispensable condition of modern life, and was, is, and shall be the foundation of the prosperity of the nations." *El Liberal*, which claims to have the widest circulation of all the Spanish papers, in a series of important articles in the end of the same month, protested against recent acts of religious persecution against Protestants in the army, and insisted on the necessity for unrestricted religious freedom, not hesitating to say that in this matter Spain was behind Turkey and Morocco. This agitation for the recognition of the widest freedom in religion must have a liberalising influence on the minds of the people, and prepare for a more favourable hearing of the Gospel.

One great hindrance to the progress of the Gospel has been the contempt in which the name "Protestant" has been held. The name seems now to be losing somewhat of its repulsiveness to the popular mind. There is consequently a greater readiness to hear what the Protestant has to say for his views.

In these ways the stagnancy that has marked evangelical work in Spain for a good many years seems to be passing away, and a more hopeful day about to dawn.

CHAPTER XXI

PORTUGAL¹

AFTER the establishment of constitutional government, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the first person to preach the Gospel in Portugal outside the Roman Church was the Rev. Dr. Gomez, a Spanish clergyman, who, having been expelled from the neighbouring kingdom on account of his liberal views, took refuge in Portugal, and commenced about the year 1842 to conduct evangelical services in a hall. He celebrated divine service according to the rite of the Episcopal Church, baptised infants (his certificate of baptism being accepted by the authorities), administered the Lord's Supper, and visited regularly the members of the congregation whose names were on the roll. But in 1852 the Penal Code was published, which forbade natives to accept any religion but that of the Roman Catholic Church. These services were prohibited and the congregation was dispersed, though some who had heard the Gospel from the lips of Dr. Gomez witnessed a good confession and died in the evangelical faith, and others, especially in the middle class,

¹ See an important series of articles in *A Egreja Lusitana*, October 1897 to October 1898.

continued secretly in the bosom of their families to read the services of the Reformed Church.

In the year 1867, the Rev. Angel Herreros de Mora, an ex-priest, and a Spaniard by birth, who had been much persecuted and imprisoned in his own country on account of his religion, succeeded, after many vicissitudes and sufferings, in escaping from a monastery, and arrived at Gibraltar, where he was helped and instructed in the Gospel by the venerable Dr. Rule, a celebrated linguist and theologian of the Methodist Church. He then went to the United States, where he was received into the Episcopal Church of that country. But as he desired greatly to preach the Gospel to his own countrymen, he returned to Europe after a few years, and arrived in Lisbon with the intention of going to Spain. Spain, however, was then entirely closed to the Gospel, and in Lisbon there was a numerous Spanish colony favourably disposed towards it. Mora, the apostle of the Reformation in Portugal in the nineteenth century, arrived in Lisbon without a penny and without protection; he was not the agent of any Society, and his visit to Portugal was due to irresistible divine impulse. Refusing to accept aid except from the congregation he had established, he often suffered great privation. He was mighty in the Scriptures, and taught his congregation to love and read the Bible. He was full of faith, of great piety, and Christian self-denial. He succeeded in gathering a numerous congregation (among them some priests), and thus laid the foundation of the Reformed Church in Portugal. The Protestant Churches of Lisbon of

every denomination had their beginning in this congregation founded by Mora. When he arrived in Lisbon, Mrs. Roughton, an English lady, invited him to preach in her house, and the Scottish minister gave him the use of a hall every Monday. Persecution tried the work: the place of worship was attacked, the windows and seats broken, and the pastor himself threatened. But the United States ambassador, although a Roman Catholic, demanded an indemnity for the loss sustained, and insisted that Mora, as an American citizen, was within his rights when preaching to those who wished to hear him. As a result of this, the Government provided that he should preach without interruption. After considerable difficulties, the congregation, composed then mainly of Spaniards, rented a shop which they transformed into a place of worship, and here he continued to work zealously till his death in 1876.

During the ministry of Mora six priests became Protestants, and made a declaration of their faith in his church. Rev. João Joaquim da Costa Almeida ministered in several parishes, and in 1855 became an army chaplain, a position which he held till 1870, when he left the Church of Rome and married. He joined the Protestant Church, opened a school, and began a congregation in his own house in Rio de Mouro. This congregation eventually became a part of the Lusitanian Church, the Episcopal Church of Portugal. Two other ex-priests, Antonio Ribeiro de Mello and Henrique Ribeiro, were Mora's successors as ministers of the Spanish congregation, which eventually became mainly Portuguese in its member-

ship. Another, Antonio Ferreira de Miranda, was for some time minister of an evangelical mission in S. José de Ribamar, but as the congregation was unable to support him he had to take a civil appointment to maintain himself. Manuel Antonio Pereira was for some time minister of the congregation of St. Paul in Lisbon, but he too was compelled by the insufficiency of his ministerial support to turn to civil life. The sixth priest, Dr. José Joaquim Rechouso, never became a pastor, but entered civil life.

Besides these there were three other priests who left the Church of Rome: José Nunes Chaves, who became minister of the Presbyterian congregation in Lisbon; Guilherme Dias da Cunha, who became a minister of the Lusitanian Church; and Joaquim dos Santos Figueiredo, who joined the Methodist Church in Oporto, where he was assistant pastor for three years; on the death of Chaves he became minister of the Presbyterian Church in Lisbon, and eventually joined the Lusitanian Church.

To no one does mission work among the Portuguese owe more than to the Rev. Robert Stewart, minister of the British Presbyterian Church in Lisbon. When Mora began work, Mr. Stewart gave him the use of his church and fostered his work in every way. In 1872 he and his congregation purchased the Mariannos Convent, an abandoned Carmelite monastery, and in the church of this convent both the British and the native congregations continued for many years to worship. The native congregation was ministered to in succession by Messrs. Mora, Menezes, and Carvalho. Snr. Carvalho resigned the pastorate of the

congregation and established an independent church, to which he still ministers with success. The Presbyterian native congregation was next ministered to by Snr. Figueiredo, already mentioned, who was succeeded by the present minister, Snr. Santos e Silva. Another congregation started in Lisbon by the Presbyterians was found to be too heavy a financial burden, and was taken over by the Methodists. The oversight of the work of the native Presbyterian Church is in the hands of the Rev. R. M. Lithgow, minister of the British Presbyterian Church.

Encouraged by the success of the work done among the Portuguese by the Presbyterians, Canon Pope, for many years Anglican chaplain in Lisbon, began work among them, and was instrumental in organising the Episcopal Church of Portugal, known as the *Egreja Lusitana*. It has congregations in Lisbon, Rio de Mouro, Setubal, and Villa Nova de Gava (the part of Oporto south of the Douro):

An interesting congregation exists in Portalegre, which originated in the desire of an English merchant, named Robinson, to bring his employees under the influence of the Gospel. The meetings were at first held in Mr. Robinson's house, but becoming too large, a theatre in the town was purchased and turned into a church.

In the city of Oporto the Methodists have an important congregation conducted by Rev. R. H. Moreton and a native minister, Snr. A. H. da Silva. Here the work of the Gospel was begun by colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Wesleyan Missionary Society learning that there

were Protestants in the city without a pastor, sent Mr. Moreton there. As a native of Buenos Ayres, with Spanish as his native language, he was soon able to preach in Portuguese, and his ministry has been much blessed.

Recently the opposition of the clerical party has received some checks that have resulted in increased religious liberty. In the year 1901 a vigorous attempt was made to put into force the provisions of the Penal Code against dissenters from the Church of Rome. But through the intervention of the Evangelical Alliance, a deputation from which interviewed the King of Portugal, these attempts were frustrated. Some time afterwards an explosion of popular fury against the clerical party was caused in Oporto by an attempt to carry off a young lady into a convent against the will of her father. The festival held in Oporto in the same year, in honour of Garrett, the poet, patriot, and statesman, afforded another proof of the growth of Protestant influence. One item on the programme was a children's festival, to which all schools were invited to contribute something. The Rev. Robert H. Moreton, although a foreigner and Protestant, was invited to sit along with the priests on the committee that had charge of the arrangements. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the priests, the majority of the committee were set on securing the Protestant scholars for a great open-air choir at the demonstration. To this desire Mr. Moreton, with the co-operation of those in charge of the various Methodist and Episcopal schools, lent himself most readily, being desirous through this opportunity of manifesting the

patriotism and interest in public affairs of the native Protestants, and of thus rebutting the libellous charge so often made, that their aims are anti-national. As a consequence, on the day in question the musical part of the programme was mainly sustained by the children of the Protestant schools. These, forming a huge choir of 800 voices, impressively entertained the Oporto public with the first display of juvenile singing on so large a scale ever witnessed in that city.

CHAPTER XXII

ITALY: THE GROWTH OF PROTESTANTISM ¹

THE progress of Protestantism in Italy in the nineteenth century is most prominently associated with the name of the Waldensians.

The almost uninterrupted course of persecution through which the Waldensians passed century after century had a depressing influence on them. "We find," says Pastor J. P. Meille, in his biography of General Beckwith, "a people intimidated by suffering, and suddenly cheated of its fancied liberty—caught in a network of cruel edicts that confined its movements; a people desirous of repose above everything, and looking on freedom from persecution as the height of happiness—no sense of having a mission to work out or an influence to exert—on the contrary, the feeling of being aliens on their own soil: the inveterate habit, which is not yet quite overcome, of trusting to others instead of to their own energy and exertions; public instruction yet in its infancy; religious and moral life languishing and enervated." This was the

¹ See Comba, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Vaudois*, and his *Histoire des Vaudois, première partie—de Valdo à la Réforme*; Jalla, *Histoire des Vaudois des Alpes et de leurs Colonies*; Meille, *Among the Waldenses: being the Life and Labours of General Beckwith in the Vaudois Valleys*.

state of the Vaudois in 1827. Had it continued till the decree of Charles Albert in 1848 opened the door to them to enter into Italy and work for its salvation, the door would have been opened in vain. But He who had preserved them through centuries of bitter persecution had prepared the means of fitting them for the work that lay before them.

One of the ablest officers in the English army at Waterloo was John Charles Beckwith, already a lieutenant-colonel at the age of twenty-six. Those who knew him believed that the most brilliant military future lay before him. During that memorable battle four horses were killed under him, but he himself escaped uninjured till one of the last shots of the retreating enemy broke his left leg. After three months of painful waiting, amputation was found necessary. "The love of glory, with the sense of duty common to every British soldier, had hitherto been his motive of action; but this heavy, unexpected trial led him to seek more earnestly than he had yet done for the true aim of existence. A Bible, which had somehow fallen into his hands while quartered in a village near Courtray, in Belgium, was now drawn from his portmanteau; it was carefully studied, and the margin of its pages was covered with notes and references. 'I was carried away by the love of glory,' he said one day in his expressive way to some friends who were asking him about this period of his life; 'but a good God said to me, "Stop, rascal!" and He cut off my leg; and now I think I shall be the happier for it.'"

One day in the summer of 1827, when calling on

the Duke of Wellington, he was shown into the library. While waiting there a few minutes, his eye fell on a book on the table entitled *Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, and Researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses, Protestant Inhabitants of the Alps, by Dr. Gilly*. The few pages he read while waiting so touched him that he ordered a copy on his way home. The more he read the book the more he was interested. Having finished the book, he was seized with a desire to see for himself this people that had been so marvellously preserved through the centuries of persecution, and accordingly in the autumn he set out for the Vaudois valleys. For the next twenty-six years, from 1827 till 1853, he gave himself with unremitting devotion to the service of the Waldensians, and spent his time and his means without stint on their behalf.

He first set himself to improve the education of the people. Some 120 elementary schools took the place of the very imperfect arrangements that existed before he came on the scene. Teachers' residences were provided in many cases. Then secondary education received his attention, and higher schools were erected. Eventually a training school for teachers and a theological college were opened. Churches and manses were erected gradually. All this was not done entirely for its own sake, but to fit the Waldenses for the missionary work he believed was in store for them. Accordingly, when the granting of religious liberty in 1848 opened the door for evangelistic work, he urged on them to avail themselves of it at once. "Henceforth," he said to them, "you are missionaries

or nothing." Knowing that they could not evangelise Italy unless they spoke pure Italian, which their residence in the valleys rendered impossible, he provided means for sending the theological professors to Tuscany for eight months, and also made arrangements for the students and the pupils of the schools to improve their knowledge of the national tongue.

Beckwith left Italy in the year 1853, and died in 1862. He did more than any one man has ever done for the evangelisation of Italy, and the readiness of the Waldensians to evangelise their native land, and their fitness to undertake the work, are in a large measure due to the self-sacrificing devotion shown by the "General with the wooden leg," whose path to high military honours was barred by Providence that he might be turned aside to the work of training and preparing one of the Lord's armies for the conquest of Italy.

The arms of the Waldensian Church are a burning light surrounded by seven stars and its motto, "*Lux lucet in tenebris*" (The Light shines in the darkness). The light was now shining more clearly, and the opportunity was given of carrying it into other parts of the land. First in Turin a congregation was gathered and a large church erected. Then in Genoa, Nice, Casale, St. Pier d'Arena, and other places, Italian evangelists were stationed, until the work extended to all parts of the country. In 1860 the Theological College was transferred to Florence, where it has always been well manned, and has furnished the Church with well-trained pastors and evangelists.

Gradually its work extended through the whole peninsula till all parts of it were embraced in its field. Into the details of this progress we cannot now go. A summary of the results will have to suffice. It has now 47 churches, 67 stations, and 17 outlying stations. These are administered by 51 pastors, 10 evangelists, and 10 teacher evangelists. During the year ending October, 1904, there were 832 admissions to church membership, bringing the total number of communicants to 6555. Towards the cost of this work the people themselves contribute the sum of upwards of £3600, in spite of the poverty of a large proportion of them.

An important colony of Waldensians has established itself in Uruguay. The beginning of this colony dates from the year 1856. A couple of years later these emigrants purchased a large district in the department of Colonia, on the river Rosario, to which considerable numbers of their compatriots have since gone. In 1872 a large colony of Waldensians established themselves at Alejandra, in Argentina. To these colonies pastors are sent by the Waldensian Church at home, and their spiritual needs are thus cared for. In Brazil and the United States, also, important colonies are being established, who are the means of carrying the Gospel to the Roman Catholic Italians who have found a home in these new lands. So that the Waldensians have become missionaries to their fellow-countrymen, not only in the old home, but in the Western hemisphere.

The beginnings of Protestantism outside the Waldensian valleys were due to the work of the British and

Foreign Bible Society. The distribution of the Bible in Italy led many here and there throughout the land to a knowledge of the Gospel. Many of these were long unaware of any others who like themselves had come to the light. In this way Count Guicciardini, Ferretti, the Madiai,¹ and others came to see the errors of Rome. Guicciardini had asked a lady friend for a book containing stories suitable for children, and had been given a Bible. This he read, and found more than he sought for—the salvation of his soul. This was in 1833. Thirteen years later, the Count, as he walked through the city of Florence, saw a shoemaker reading a thick book as he worked. It was a Bible. The two men were drawn together by this common interest in the Word of God, and soon found out others who had the same experience as themselves, and began to hold meetings secretly. This was the first native Protestant congregation in Florence. Ferretti received a Bible from a foreign Protestant minister, and was led by it to evangelical views. As he showed these in a poem he published, he was compelled to flee to Switzerland, and afterwards to England, where he obtained employment as a teacher, and issued for sixteen years the first evangelical Italian paper, *L'Eco di Savonarola*. Francesco and Rosa Madiai had, the one in America, the other in England, learned the truth through the reading of the Bible. One of the most thrilling stories of papal persecution in modern times is the tale of the persecution through which this humble couple passed on account of their reading of the Scriptures.

¹ See article in *Sunday at Home*, April 1905.

In this way, in different parts of Italy, little circles of Protestants grew up. When the Duke of Tuscany, under papal pressure, withdrew the edict granting liberty of conscience, many fled to Turin, and associated themselves with the Waldensian congregation that had been formed there under the leadership of General Beckwith and Pastor J. P. Meille. Desanctis, who had originally been a priest of an important church in Rome, and Mazzarella, afterwards a professor in the University of Bologna, and the first Protestant member of the Italian Parliament, were accepted by the Waldensian Church, and worked for a time in Genoa and the north of Italy. But after a short time they separated from the Waldensians, owing to disputes, and worked on independent lines. Guicciardini also had been carrying on evangelistic work in various parts of the country, some of his followers joining the Plymouth Brethren. Another important evangelistic force came into the field in the person of the celebrated Gavazzi, at one time military chaplain to the papal troops, and the most eloquent preacher the Protestant Churches of Italy have yet produced.

The work of all these men pursuing independent courses led to the establishment of isolated congregations scattered over the country, many of which were drifting into Plymouthism. After several attempts, a union of about twenty of these congregations was effected in the year 1870. Desanctis had returned to the service of the Waldensian Church, and Gavazzi became the leading spirit of this union, which called itself the Free Church of Italy. A great interest in this movement was taken by the Rev. Dr. MacDougall,

minister of the Free Church of Scotland in Florence, and through his advocacy large financial support was obtained from Scotland. The Free Church, which afterwards took the title of the Evangelical Church of Italy (*Chiesa Evangelica Italiana*), adopted like the Waldensians a Presbyterian form of Church government. It grew steadily for years, till in 1902 it had 32 congregations and 2066 communicants, of whom 1938 were converts from Romanism, and 128 of Protestant origin.

The death of Dr. MacDougall in January, 1900, deprived this Church of its best friend, and the withdrawal of a large part of the financial support it had received from Scotland threw its work into confusion, and some of its agencies had to be given up. Negotiations were carried on for a time with the Waldensian Church for union of the two bodies, but were at length abandoned without any result. Subsequently negotiations were opened with the English and American Methodists with more success. At most of the stations of the Evangelical Church the work is now by arrangement carried on in connection with one or other of these missions. A few congregations are endeavouring to maintain the continuity of the Evangelical Church.

Several foreign Churches carry on successful mission work in Italy. The Wesleyan Methodist Church of England has worked there since the year 1861, and has now stations at various points from the Alps to Sicily. According to the Report of its Missionary Society for the year 1902, it had then 20 churches and 49 other preaching stations worked by 28 missionaries

and assistant missionaries and 18 local preachers. There were in connection with these stations 1819 fully accredited church members, and about as many more regular attendants at services. An interesting part of its work is carried on in the villages of Montorfano and Omegna. These two villages seceded from the Church of Rome a few years ago and joined the Methodists. They have remained faithful to their new confession. At Intra, in the same neighbourhood, they carry on a large orphanage, which has rendered valuable service. In the year 1901 it had 57 inmates, 40 boys and 17 girls. The children are not only given a useful education, but also learn a trade by which they can earn their daily bread when schooldays are over.

Associated to some extent with the Wesleyan Mission is the Italian Evangelical Military Church,¹ one of the most successful evangelistic agencies in Italy. This Church was founded in 1873 by Cavaliere L. Capellini, and conducted by him with great energy till his death in 1898. It is now presided over by Pastor Cervi of the Wesleyan Mission. Its members are soldiers of the various regiments that from time to time are engaged in garrisoning Rome. The work of the Church is twofold, educational and evangelistic. An evening school for non-commissioned officers is conducted, and numerous classes of different kinds are held for all the soldiers. Evangelistic services are held in the summer camps for the members of the Church. In this way new groups of men are constantly brought under the influence of the Gospel, and then

¹ See Rönneke, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Italien*.

scattered over the land, carrying with them the truth they have learned.

A vigorous and successful mission is conducted by the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, which began work in Italy in 1873. In 1902 it had 35 stations, 1923 members and 534 probationers. A striking feature in the work of this mission is the prominence given to educational institutions. Among these is a "Girls' Home School," a large boarding-school with about 60 pupils; the Crandon International Institute, to provide a high-class education for Italian and other ladies, with an attendance, in 1902, of 49 boarders and 99 day pupils; and a Boys' Industrial Protestant Home in Venice.

The American and English Baptists have worked since 1870 and 1871, and have about 1500 members.

An institution that promises to have a useful future and to become an important influence in the evangelisation of Italy is the Refuge Home for converted priests in Rome. "For many years the ministers of all the Evangelical Churches in Italy were troubled with the thought of how they could best help those priests who for conscience' sake desired to break away from papal tyranny and superstition and become true disciples of Christ. Many learned to their sorrow that to employ them too soon in the work of evangelisation was a mistake. However sincere these priests might be, they had been brought up in almost complete ignorance of the truth as it is in Jesus, and hence it was impossible for them to instruct others in the way of life. Much harm was done to the work of evangelisation in Italy by some

of these ex-priests sent out as evangelical preachers. It is just, however, to add that some of them were true and loyal men whom God greatly honoured in the ministry of His Word. The problem was how to find out the worthy ones and help them. There was a felt need for a place where these men, who had broken away from their former life, could take refuge for a while against the storm of persecution and quietly prepare themselves for different spheres in life." Such a home has been opened in Rome under a committee representing the different Protestant Churches, and has begun to do a most useful work in helping priests to freedom and enabling them to prepare for work as preachers or in some department of civil life. It has hitherto been hindered by want of funds and room. It is believed that there are even more priests in Italy than in France who stay in the Church merely because they cannot leave it, as they have no way of providing for their support; and in Italy there are only 60,000 Protestants to come to their help.

Two influences may here be mentioned, which though not avowedly on the side of Protestantism, are probably due to it, and will help on its work. The first of these is the movement inside the Roman Catholic Church in Italy known as Christian Democracy.¹ The leader of this movement is Don Romolo Murri, a young priest. At a great meeting of Christian Democrats held in the city and Republic of San Martino on the 24th of August, 1902, he delivered a speech which attracted great attention

¹ See *Deutsch-evangelische Korrespondenz*, 21st January, 1904.

throughout the country. "Everything," he said, "calls for freedom, for light, for movement of the relaxed muscles which feel life flowing in them again and demand room to stretch themselves. The battle-cry now is 'Back to the Gospel, to the pure Christianity for which we all long.' To the Gospel we have ourselves added much, or for it we have substituted much, and then we have honoured or worshipped that as if it had always been bound up with it. Half-heathen customs that were only varnished over; institutions from old Roman law; theological and philosophical ideas produced in our schools; decayed monasteries that are incapable of reforming themselves; human privileges, external customs, that could only have value if they were animated with a living spirit: that is the load that keeps us from moving. Let us turn back to the Gospel! Let us free the Christianity that slumbers hidden and concealed in our national life." Leo XIII. had shown a verbal sympathy with democratic aspirations, but when an attempt was made to realise these aspirations his sympathy came to an abrupt end. A month after it was delivered the Cardinal Vicar described Murri's speech as reprehensible, and Murri disappeared from public life for a time, to devote himself to study.

With the accession of Pius X. to the papal chair it seemed as if a brighter day had dawned for Christian Democracy. The nineteenth Italian Catholic Congress met on the 11th of November, 1903, in Bologna, and was dominated by the Christian Democrats who were present under the leadership

of Murri, and the protection of Cardinal Swampa, the Archbishop of Bologna. The Pope blessed the meeting and expressed himself satisfied with the result of the deliberations. Swampa in a speech at the close of the meetings declared: "The Catholics have shown that progress inspires them with no aversion: they no longer stand to-day at the same point as yesterday." The joy caused by these words did not last long. On the 18th of December the Pope issued an encyclical on the subject of Christian Democracy in which he frankly accepted the position of Leo XIII., and declared that Christian Democracy was never to mix itself up in politics or serve political parties or objects, and in the carrying out of its task it was its urgent duty to maintain ecclesiastical authority and to show complete submission and obedience to the bishops and their representatives. Thus were condemned the aspirations of the younger Christian Democrats, who demanded free lay organisation, for which autonomy and not submission to clerical control was indispensable.

The authorities at the Vatican were not satisfied with this condemnation of Murri, but were determined to destroy his influence by obtaining a public recantation. So at a meeting of Christian Democrats in Noto, in Sicily, shortly afterwards, Murri was put through a public cross-examination by Bishop Blandini of Naso and Cardinal Nava of Catania. He was asked whether it was not true that the Catholic doctrine, revealed by God, had always contained in itself the whole truth, so that Christian Democracy was not to be considered in any sense as an innovation

introduced into the Church. He answered in the affirmative. He was then asked whether he would always submit himself to the Pope as Paul had always submitted to Peter as the Vicar of Christ. Murri answered that he would. When asked whether he would publicly declare that Christian Democracy, if it wished to serve human society, must always be ruled and guided in its principles and its actions by the Church and by the Pope, Murri answered: "In this sense I have always understood and still understand Christian Democracy, in spite of the suspicions that have been disseminated about my intentions, and in this sense I will always dedicate myself to the welfare of the people."

The Christian Democrats have not, however, given up the struggle for freedom. The leaders of a recent congress at Bologna resolved to form an organisation in which, while acknowledging the Pope's authority, they would be independent in their political action. This has been condemned in a letter written by the Pope to Cardinal Swampa. But the Christian Democrats do not seem so ready to submit as Murri was, and in meetings held since the Pope's letter was published have asserted their determination to stand by their right to independence of political organisation and action. The contest will be watched with interest.

Another hopeful sign is the foundation of the "Society of St. Jerome for the Circulation of the Holy Scriptures," under the honorary presidency of Cardinal Moceni. Pius IX. and Leo XIII. denounced the Bible Societies in the most unqualified language. But the

Bible was being disseminated through the land in spite of these denunciations, and the desire for it was growing. It seemed therefore to some that the Church should see that its own version was put into the hands of the people. The Society of St. Jerome has issued a new translation, in excellent modern Italian, and with notes which, while of course Romanist in their tone, are more courteous to Protestants and much less aggressive than such notes usually are. Up to the present the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles have appeared in one volume, and are sold at prices from two to four pence. Enormous numbers of these are reported by Roman Catholics to have been sold. Some doubt has been thrown on the figures, as difficulty has frequently been found in getting a copy. But an effort to spread the Scriptures must always be welcome. The result must in the end favour Protestantism, whatever the intention of those who disseminate the Word of God may be.

The latest indication of a desire for the reform of the Church of Rome in Italy is the publication in the end of the year 1905 of Antonio Fogazzaro's remarkable novel, *Il Santo*. Fogazzaro, who is the greatest novelist Italy has produced, with the exception, perhaps, of Manzoni, makes an earnest plea for reform in the Church. The book has created a considerable sensation in Italy, and has, as might be expected, been placed on the Index.

CHAPTER XXIII

ITALY: COUNT CAMPELLO AND THE REFORMED CATHOLIC CHURCH¹

COUNT ENRICO DI CAMPELLO was born at Spoleto, in Umbria, in Italy, on the 15th November, 1831. In 1848 his father threw in his lot with the Revolutionaries. On the return of the Pope he was thrown into prison, but through the influence of friends he was set at liberty and his honours restored, on condition that he furnished a son for the priesthood. Enrico was selected, but his whole soul revolted against it. "Tell me, Enrico," said Cardinal Serafini to him one day, "what is the ultimate reason which keeps you from making up your mind?" "Your Eminence, I dread throwing away my liberty." The Cardinal laughed and said, "You fool, I entered the Church very young, was made a prelate, and obtained lucrative offices. I became a canon in St. Peter's, and am now a cardinal, yet never did I surrender my liberty, but always lived as I pleased." At last he was hurried off to a Jesuit academy, and as he was intended for high office in the Church he received in quick succession the various minor orders, and in 1855 was ordained priest. As his superiors intended

¹ See Robertson, *Count Campello and Catholic Reform in Italy*; and Rönneke, *Die Los von Rom-Bewegung in Italien*.

him to become a member of the Curia, and to pursue a politico-ecclesiastical career, he was sent to the "Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics" in Rome. Not satisfied with the instruction given in this College, he attended theological classes in the Gregorian University of the Jesuits, and took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. He then added to his scholarly attainments a law degree. During this time of study he also carried on a good deal of mission work among the boatmen of the Tiber, and opened Sunday schools for the waifs of the city.

In November 1861, at the early age of thirty, he was nominated to the important appointment of canon in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and for seven years worked with most exemplary zeal. He threw himself with special earnestness and success into work among the young. He fostered evening schools for young workmen, which he developed to a state of great efficiency. He found much hostility to his work in the chapter of his Church, and owing to their intrigues he was compelled to give up some of his school-work. Pio Nono, with whom he was a favourite, became aware of this state of things, and, to show his appreciation of his services, presented him with a canonry in St. Peter's in 1867. The duties of this office he found extremely irksome. For four or five hours a day he had to be in St. Peter's, chanting his church offices. He was glad to get away of an evening from these wearisome repetitions in Latin to preach in the Church of Santa Maria in Vinces to his old friends the working men, in their own tongue.

His sense of the hollowness of many of the ceremonies of the Church began to oppress him more and more, and sometimes he gave inconvenient expression to his sentiments. The issue of the *Syllabus* and the promulgation of the infallibility of the Pope also did much to shake his confidence in his Church. The state of the priesthood confirmed him in these feelings. He saw the higher clergy involved in unworthy intrigues and ambitions, and often guilty of the most immoral acts, while the lower clergy were sunk in ignorance and abject dependence on their superiors. He became ashamed to wear the insignia of the papal priesthood. He left off preserving his tonsure, saying that it was customary to mark cattle after that fashion, but he would no longer submit to the indignity. When outside the precincts of the Vatican he would lay aside his priestly garb and dress like a civilian.

On the 20th September, 1870, the troops of Victor Emmanuel entered Rome and made it the capital of united Italy. Campello, like many more, fondly imagined that the day of religious as well as of civil liberty had at last dawned on his country. He consulted many of the more thoughtful of the Vatican clergy and found them all in favour of the reformation of the Church, but few were willing to take any action. He succeeded, however, in establishing a "Catholic Italian Society for the Restoration of the Rights belonging to Christian People, and especially to Roman Citizens." He wished the Church to be freed from papal tyranny and established on a popular basis. The existence of the Society was discovered

by the Curia, and anathemas were hurled against its members. These, however, were not easily found. After a time suspicion fell on Campello, and he was closely examined by two cardinals.

The hopes of reformation cherished at the beginning of Leo XIII.'s pontificate were soon disappointed. For over three years, however, Campello continued working earnestly for reform, but seeing he was making no progress he at length decided to leave the Church of Rome, and in a letter dated 13th September, 1881, he placed his resignation of the canonry of St. Peter's in the hands of Cardinal Borromeo. It will suffice to quote one paragraph from it. "So much evidence given in acts causes all bandages to fall from my eyes, and by main force frees me from every tie. I go forth out of the ranks of the Roman clergy to war in those of the pure Gospel of Christ, remaining thus faithful to my vocation, and persuaded that in this cause I shall find peace to my soul; for, strong in the teaching of the Divine Master, neither adulterated nor counterfeited, it will be given to me with head erect to profess myself a Christian without hypocrisy, and an Italian citizen without the mask of a traitor to my country."

In resigning his position as canon of St. Peter's, Campello threw away prospects of the most brilliant success at the Vatican, not knowing what lay before him, but assured that his motives and action would be misunderstood and misrepresented. He decided to remain in Rome, and publish there his rupture with the Church. Accordingly, on the very evening

of his secession, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, he publicly read his letter of resignation and explained the reasons that had led him to take this step. It was not his desire to associate himself with any of the existent Protestant Churches in Italy, but to carry out independently the work of reformation which he had found impossible inside the Church, and to found a "Reformed Italian Catholic Church." In an exposition of his beliefs formulated a few months afterwards, he stated his acceptance of the doctrines taught by the first six Œcumenical Councils. He believed the episcopal form of church government to be of divine origin, and the Pope to have only the primacy of *Primus inter equales*. He held that worship should be conducted in the language of the people, and the Bible read by the people. He rejected compulsory celibacy of the priesthood, and compulsory confession.

To advocate his views he established a daily newspaper, *Il Labaro*, which had a considerable circulation and exercised a large influence, but he was unable to bear the expense, and had eventually to change it into a monthly. It was difficult to get enough subscribers to make it pay, and it was soon given up. It was revived in 1890 at San Remo under the title, *Il Labaro della Riforma Cattolica*, by Rev. Ugo Janni,¹ minister of the Reformed Catholic Church of that town. In the autumn of 1882 he

¹ Sig. Ugo Janni, in the year 1901, considering that Campello's sympathies were too much with the High Church party in England, joined the Waldensian Church. The members of his congregation in San Remo went with him.

began the organisation of the Reformed Catholic Church. He had obtained the sympathy of some members of the Church of England, and a committee of direction was formed, and rooms taken in Via Farini, not far from the church in which he held his first appointment. His services were evangelistic in character, and were largely attended, especially by young men and young women. After eight months the rooms were found to be entirely inadequate for the meetings, and larger premises were secured in Via Genova. Here regular church services were inaugurated, and the name St. Paul's Chapel given to the building. About this time he received a licence as priest from the Bishop of Long Island acting under the authority of the Lambeth Conference.

Soon other workers began to gather around him. The first offer of help came from Fra Andrea d'Altagene, or, to give him his family name, Paolo Panzani. This remarkable man had been appalled by the condition of the Church, and had written a book entitled *An Enquiry into the Origin of Evils that are destroying Religion and Society, and an easy way of remedying them*. He sent a copy to Pio Nono for his approval, and was in consequence arrested and condemned to twelve years' imprisonment. When three years of his imprisonment had elapsed, the French Government claimed him as a French subject and demanded his release. But papal persecution followed him wherever he went, till at last he took refuge in Tunis, and there wrought as a gardener, employing his spare time in writing books

advocating reform of the Church. In Rome from 1870 till 1883 he worked with his hands to earn his daily bread, and continued to use his pen on behalf of the truth.

Shortly afterwards, Campello was joined by another helper in the person of Monsignor Giambattista Savarese, one of the Pope's domestic chaplains, and one of the most learned men then in the Curia. His secession startled the Vatican and gave a great stimulus to the work in which Campello was engaged. The following year a third important worker connected himself with Campello. This was Filippo Cicchitti-Suriani. Born of poor parents in the year 1861, he showed in his boyhood such an eager thirst for knowledge that he went to Rome to pursue his studies. For months he would live almost entirely on bread and onions. Unable to pay for candles, he would study at night by the light of street lamps and shop windows. In 1881 he received a subdiaconate from the Archbishop of Naples. When Campello in that year seceded from the Church of Rome, it greatly impressed Cicchitti, in whose mind doubts had been springing up. Three years later he openly joined the Reformed Catholic Church, and received ordination at the hands of Bishop Herzog, of the Old Catholic Church. The growing success of the movement drew from the Vatican a decree of excommunication against all who should in any way identify themselves with it, even to the extent of attending its services. To the anathemas of the Pope the four workers replied in a spirited document. The whole press of Italy sided with the Reformers

and denounced the tyranny of the Vatican, and the accessions to the new Church became more numerous than ever.

In the year 1884 death carried off Panzani. He had fought a good fight and borne much suffering, and laid down his armour with joy. Campello was much more advanced in his views than Savarese, and was not always able to carry his friend as far as he desired. Savarese clung to more of the Roman ritual than Campello was willing to retain. Savarese sought to retain compulsory confession and to take the cup from the laity, and Campello felt compelled to resist him. Thus dissension crept in, and the work suffered, and subscriptions fell off, and salaries had to be cut down. The Vatican now stepped in with bribes and promises, and Savarese, who saw nothing but privation and difficulty before him, succumbed to the temptation and recanted. Cicchitti, in order to lighten the expenses of the work, applied to the Government for an educational appointment, and received the Chair of Philosophy in the Lyceum at Aquila. He hoped in this way to be able to influence young men for reform and lead them to religious liberty. He has succeeded in doing so; he has educated the young ministers who now work in the Reformed Catholic Church, and through his writings has exercised a widespread influence.

Campello was now left alone once more, and had to face carrying on the work single-handed against enormous difficulties. He decided, after consulting his English friends, to transfer his work for the present to the Valnerina, in Umbria, the district in which he had been brought up. Here the circumstances seemed

favourable, and he could live in his own house, and thus reduce his expenses to a minimum. In the autumn of 1886, accordingly, Campello took up his abode at Arrone, in the Valnerina. The most important town in the valley is Terni, a place of growing population and wealth, on account of its large factories of arms for the army and navy. Here he opened an evangelistic hall, where on week-day evenings and Sundays the Gospel is preached and lectures delivered. The services were soon well attended. About five miles up the river at Casteldilago evangelistic meetings were opened, and much success attended the work. At Arrone, his own residence, he began services in his own house, but soon it became necessary to erect a church with schoolrooms attached and a dwelling-house for the minister. There are several other villages in the Valnerina in which occasional services are held, but in which the scarcity of workers has prevented the permanent establishment of the work.

In 1889, in response to an invitation from San Remo, he went there to deliver an address. A private theatre was hired for him, but long before the appointed time the house was crowded with an audience representing all classes in San Remo. His words were received with great enthusiasm. The Bishop of Ventimiglia held an opposition meeting at the same hour in another part of the town, but his meeting was a fiasco, as no one went to it. When he returned to give further addresses, the town theatre was granted by the Municipality. Soon afterwards he sent two evangelists to establish a congregation in San Remo. One of them, Signor Ugo Janni, became minister of a

flourishing church there, and a station has been opened at the neighbouring town of Ventimiglia. In all there are now twelve congregations of the Reformed Catholic Church.

Campello died on the 3rd July, 1903. Around the closing years of his life there hangs a good deal of mystery. In 1902 he retired from active participation in the work, from bodily infirmity and old age. He then disappeared from public view. In the month of November of that year it was announced that he had returned to the Church of Rome. But his friends seem to have been unable to communicate with him. As he had previously warned his friends against believing any rumour of his return to the Papacy, it is probable that when in hospital in bodily, and perhaps mental weakness, one of those deathbed conversions in which Rome is skilled was accomplished. He was buried in a pauper's coffin in a pauper's grave.¹

The work has not been abandoned since the loss of Count Campello. Professor Cicchitti, who had superintended it for a couple of years, has been elected bishop. Under his able leadership the Reformed Church may be expected to make hopeful progress. But if it would take its stand more frankly on the Protestant platform, and hanker less after "catholicity," the hopes of those who wish it well would be more confident.

¹ *Die Wartburg*, January 9th and July 24th, 1903.

CHAPTER XXIV

CANADA¹

THE province of Quebec is inhabited by about a million and a half descendants of the original French colonists. These are almost entirely Roman Catholics. During the French dominion many of the Huguenots, driven by persecution from their native land, sought an asylum in New France, as the colony was called. But there they met persecution almost as bitter as that from which they fled, and when the English conquered the province there remained only a few French Protestants in it. The English Government allowed the Roman Catholic religious orders to retain the enormous landed property with which the French Government had endowed them, and the Church was given the right to levy tithes for the support of the clergy and the erection of ecclesiastical buildings. In this way the Church has acquired enormous wealth and influence in the province, has been enabled to control legislation, and to keep the education of the people in its own hands, with the result that they have been kept in

¹ See Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, and *Forty Years in the Church of Christ*; J. L. Morin (son-in-law of Chiniquy), *Evangelisches Erwachen im Katholischen Canada*.

ignorance and superstition. Very serious attempts have been made to make Roman canon law override the civil law, especially in the matter of marriage.¹

When the English conquest secured them toleration, the Huguenots began to do some evangelistic work among their Roman Catholic neighbours. A priest named Veyssière was brought into contact with the Canadian Huguenots, and in endeavouring to lead them to the doctrines of his Church was himself led to the truth, and in the year 1766 renounced Romanism, and became an ardent missionary among his fellow-countrymen. He went to England, and persuaded the Government to appoint three French preachers to work among Roman Catholics. This work was begun and carried on for some time, not without success.² But the outbreak of the war with the American colonies made it important to secure the aid of the Canadians in the struggle, and the bishops made the cessation of aggressive work among Roman Catholics, and an assurance that the estates of the Church would remain inviolate, a condition of their assistance. This price was paid, and the bishops issued an order calling on their people to aid the English against their revolting colonies.³

Mission work was resumed about the year 1815, when the English Wesleyans sent Jean de Putron to Canada as a French missionary, who laboured for several years with some success. Then in the year 1834 evangelistic work among French Canadians was once more taken up, and has never been interrupted.

¹ Morin, *Evangelisches Erwachen*, pp. 6-8.

² *Ibid.* pp. 10-11.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 11-12.

The most important step forward was taken in 1839, when the Société franco-canadienne was formed as an undenominational Society for the evangelisation of French Canada. In the following year this Society had a congregation of fifty members in Montreal, and year by year the work made steady progress, in spite of the bitter opposition of the priests.¹

The progress of Protestantism among the French Canadians will always, however, be specially associated with name of Father Chiniquy,² whose career as a leader of men out of Romanism is without parallel since the time of the Reformation. Charles Chiniquy was born at Kamoraska, in the province of Quebec, on the 30th July, 1809. His father had been educated for the priesthood, but a few days before the time fixed for making his vows, having been the witness of a great iniquity in the high quarters of the Church, he changed his mind, studied law, and became a notary. Before leaving the seminary of Quebec he received from one of the superiors, as a token of his esteem, a beautiful French and Latin Bible. During the early years of his son Charles the family lived where there was no school to which he could be sent, so his mother became his first teacher, and the French and Latin Bible became the text-book from which he learned to read. His mother selected the chapters she considered most interesting, and he read them every day with the greatest attention and pleasure.

¹ Morin, *Evangelisches Erwachen*, pp. 14-22.

² What follows about Chiniquy is taken from his two autobiographical works referred to above. It is unnecessary to multiply references to these two important books.

He was even so much pleased with several chapters that he read them over and over again till he knew them by heart. When eight or nine years of age he had learned by heart the history of the creation and fall of man ; the deluge ; the sacrifice of Isaac ; the history of Moses ; the plagues of Egypt, and several other parts of the Old Testament ; all the speeches and parables of Christ ; and the whole history of the sufferings and death of our Saviour as narrated by John. He used to spend hours with his mother reading the divine Book. Sometimes she interrupted him to see if he understood what he read ; and when his answers made her sure that he did, she used to kiss him and press him to her bosom as an expression of her joy. One day while he was reading the history of the sufferings of the Saviour, his heart was so much impressed that he could hardly enunciate the words, and his voice trembled. His mother, perceiving his emotion, tried to say something about the love of Jesus for us, but she could not utter a word and burst into tears. So long as he lived the memory remained fresh of that hour in which Jesus for the first time revealed to him something of His suffering and of His love. It is necessary to remember these days of early study of the Bible, if we are to understand its influence on his after life.

He was ordained a priest in the Cathedral of Quebec on the 21st of September, 1833, and entered on the duties of his office with great enthusiasm. After holding several curacies, he was in 1838 appointed parish priest of Beauport, a suburb of Quebec. His work here was performed with unwearied zeal. The

parish was one that was notorious for its drunkenness, and he soon found that he could do nothing to elevate his people unless he could rescue them from the demon of drink. He had not been more than three months at the head of the parish, when he determined to organise a temperance society on the same principles as Father Mathew had done in Ireland. In this course he persevered, in spite of the discouragement of his bishop. He made a thorough study of all the best temperance literature available, and took a course of anatomy. He preached on the subject of temperance on the first Sunday of Lent, 1839, and called on his people to attend services the next three days. During these days he preached four times a day to them, and more than two-thirds of his congregation publicly took the pledge, among them some of the most notorious drunkards in the district. His action met the hearty approval of the press and of the whole Protestant community, but almost unbroken hostility and opposition from his brother-priests. But he refused to be turned away from the work to which he believed God had called him. And this society in his own parish became the first of many which he formed in all parts of Canada. The movement was taken up enthusiastically all over the country, till a temperance reform was accomplished which has no parallel but that of Father Mathew in Ireland, and which has been much more permanent in its results than the Irish movement. The fact that the opposition came mainly from the priests of his own Church, while the sympathy and encouragement came almost entirely from Protestants, impressed him deeply.

Many priests who had no real sympathy with the work he was carrying on were compelled by public opinion to invite him to their parishes to organise temperance societies. In this way he travelled all over the country, and was brought into close contact with the Roman Catholic clergy everywhere. The scandals with which he became acquainted in the lives of many of the priests shocked him, and for a time shook his faith in his religion. While in this state of depression and doubt, he was induced to give up his parish and to join the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and entered their monastery at Longueuil, in the neighbourhood of Montreal. Here he remained eleven months, expecting to find in what they considered the purity and peace of monasticism the rest and peace of soul he desired. Its effect was to open his eyes to the real character of those institutions which he had looked on as the best fruits of Christianity. Here, instead of the perfection he had been led to expect, he found jealousy, intrigue, formality, and immorality. He then obtained the permission of the bishop to retire from the order. At the same time he was presented with a medal from the Pope in appreciation of the great services he had rendered to temperance and religion, and a splendid crucifix to which special indulgences were attached. He was officially named the apostle of temperance in Canada, and was presented with a gift of £500 by the Canadian Parliament as a mark of its appreciation of the services he had rendered to his country.

About this time the Church of Rome formed a vast project to conquer the great valley of the Mississippi

and through it to rule the Republic of the United States, and Chiniquy seemed by his great zeal, eloquence, and energy to be specially qualified to take the lead in this enterprise. He was accordingly asked to give himself to this undertaking. He went to Chicago to begin his work among the French Canadians who had in great numbers emigrated to the States. But doubts of the claims and doctrines of his Church were growing up in his mind, and showed themselves, probably unconsciously at first, in an unwillingness to submit to the unchristian and tyrannical conduct of the bishops under whom he had to work. After a careful investigation of the district in which the work was to be carried on, he selected a spot where a colony of French Canadians was to settle and become the nucleus of a movement in favour of Rome and its proposed conquest of the West. Soon a large community gathered around him, and a prosperous town grew up, the inhabitants of which were devoted to their earnest pastor.

There is not space here to follow the steps that led to his ultimate secession from the Church of Rome and the cordiality with which his people adhered to him in his protest against its errors and tyranny. This secession took place in the year 1858. His congregation called themselves Christian Catholics, and had at first no intention of joining any of the various religious denominations around them. But ultimately they saw that they were only adding another to the numerous sects, and were admitted into the Presbyterian Church of the United States. On the 15th April, 1860, he and 2000 converts were received by the Presbytery

of Chicago into its communion. This was followed by the establishment of missions and congregations in the towns and cities of Chicago, Aurora, Kankakee, Middleport, Watseka, Momence, Sterling, Manteno, etc., where the light of the Gospel had been received by large numbers of French Canadian emigrants into the States, whom he had previously visited. Then he established a theological college for the training of French pastors for these converts.

Soon after his conversion to Protestantism he received a pressing invitation from Canada to visit that country and give an account of his reasons for leaving the Church of Rome. This visit caused intense excitement and the bitterest opposition from the priests. But in spite of the attempts made on his life he preached the Gospel in many towns of Canada, and transplanted to that country the movement that had begun so successfully among the Canadian emigrants in the United States, where it was making continuous progress. For forty years it was granted to the originator of this remarkable movement to guide it, till he was called to his reward on the 16th of January, 1899.

The work in Canada was taken up energetically by the Presbyterian Church and thoroughly organised. The following figures for the year 1900 will give an idea of its extent.

There were 28 ministers and ordained missionaries engaged in work, 17 itinerant preachers, 20 teachers, and 65 other workers, in 37 mission districts and 93 mission stations. Other Churches also have entered on this work, including the Baptists, the

Methodists, and the Anglicans. It is calculated that there are now, as the result of the movement inaugurated by Chiniquy, over 30,000 French Canadian Protestants in Canada itself, while it is believed that in the United States the converts to Protestantism among the French Canadian emigrants amount to at least 40,000.

But the influence of Protestantism among the French-speaking inhabitants of Canada is not to be seen only in these figures. It is seen in the whole attitude of the people. After his conversion Chiniquy could not appear in Canada for a long time without strong protection. In his closing years he could go about freely and unmolested, and was even treated with respect. Roman Catholics send their children to the public schools in spite of the clerical opposition. They read freely the organ of the French Protestants. And educated Roman Catholic men and women seek the society of educated French Protestants, and show in many ways that the old prejudices and restraints are losing their power. That this will lead to the continued advance of the movement cannot be doubted.¹

¹ Morin, *Evangelisches Erwachen im Katholischen Canada*, 37-39.

CHAPTER XXV

AMERICANISM

It is of special interest to inquire how the Church of Rome has fared in a country in which it has had neither special favour shown to it nor been subject to persecution. The United States of America furnish us with a field in which to pursue these inquiries, and the subject has been dealt with very fully in an important volume by Abbé Houtin,¹ who has collected a large amount of valuable material to guide us in studying this question.

When the War of Independence broke out there were only about 30,000 Roman Catholics among the three or four millions of inhabitants in the revolting colonies, and these apparently were not characterised by an unquestioning loyalty to the Holy See, for Dr. Carroll, the Apostolic Vicar in the States, reported to the Propaganda in 1785 that a schismatic spirit existed among his priests and their people. A schism actually took place in New Orleans in 1805,

¹ Houtin, *L'Américanisme*, Paris, 1904. The contents of this chapter are taken almost entirely from this interesting volume. Where the author translates his quotations into French I have retranslated into English. I have not thought it necessary to search for the original in order to give the exact words which Houtin quotes.

and Bishop Dubourg found himself without priests and without the means of propagating the faith. In South Carolina the Roman Catholic laity manifested a strong inclination to insist on the power of administering the property of the Church, which led to frequent conflicts with the ecclesiastical authorities. When the great emigration from Europe, and especially from Ireland, increased enormously the number of Roman Catholics, the Church found itself for a long time unable to provide priests and services for the crowds that flocked across the Atlantic, and such organisation as at first it was possible to maintain was principally confined to the towns. In this way a good many Roman Catholics passed over to the various Protestant Churches. This process was assisted by the fact that at the time it was mostly French priests who ministered to the American Roman Catholics, and that it was to a considerable extent French money that supported them. This predominance of French influence continued even when Irish and German priests became numerous, and created a good deal of friction. On this point Bishop England, who was an Irishman, wrote to one of his friends on the 25th February, 1835: "I am every day more and more convinced that the genius of the nation and the administration of the French are not easily reconcilable. Besides, one of the strongest prejudices against our religion is that it is foreign, that it is not American. The Irish coalesce readily with the Americans. Their principles, their dispositions, their politics, their ideas of government, their appearance, very quickly become American. They boast of America, and prefer it to

the oppressors of their own country. The French can never become Americans. Their language, their love of *la belle France*, their appearance, their ideas, their deportment, their way of dressing, the manner in which they speak of their religion, everything is foreign." Numerous defections were the result of this state of things. Bishop England calculated that of fifty thousand descendants of Roman Catholics in the two Carolinas in 1832 not more than ten thousand belonged to the Church of their forefathers. And he thought that his diocese was not an exception. It is well to note that some of the influences that have been operating against the success of the Church of Rome in the United States in recent years were at work in the beginning of the last century.

The constant immigration gave a special character to the Catholicism of the United States. Nearly all the new arrivals came to seek their fortune. They had spent their all in crossing the ocean, and so they settled down as labourers in the large towns of the eastern states bordering on the Atlantic. This facilitated the formation of the parishes, and these became the centres around which the immigrants gathered and preserved their faith. But a hierarchy and priesthood born for the most part in Europe had more the appearance of an ecclesiastical arrangement for the service of a colony than for the propagation of the faith in mission fields. The negroes, the Indians, the Catholics in the rural districts were almost entirely neglected, as their efforts were absorbed by the urban parishes, composed in great part of newly arrived immigrants; and owing to the diverse sources of the

immigration there was a want of cohesion in the congregations which the imperfectly educated priests were unable to overcome. Things remained for a long time in this state, because the clergy were not recruited in the United States. As early as 1833 a well-informed French journal said: "The great misfortune of the Catholic religion in the United States is that no priests are produced in the country. The youth of the country do not think of entering the priesthood, nor do their parents urge them to do so. The great part of those who are educated for the Church are humble Irish, born in Ireland, or sons of poor Irish who are burdened with large families. Just as in the Catholic countries of Europe, the tendency is to recruit the clergy from the poor and ignorant classes, from a social grade inferior to that of the pastors of the great Protestant denominations. During the whole of the nineteenth century, in the United States, nearly all the well educated and distinguished priests were members of the religious orders, and even these had difficulty in attaining the culture of the members of the Protestant Churches."

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there have been relatively few conversions to Romanism in the United States. But one convert has played an important part in the recent history of religion in that country and in France. Isaac Thomas Hecker was born in New York on the 18th of September, 1819, of German parents. As his parents were poor, he had at the age of ten to begin to earn his own living. From his eleventh year he was employed as a baker. From his mother, who was a pious Methodist, he

imbibed an ardent mysticism. About his fourteenth year he began to interest himself in politics and philosophy. At fifteen he was a reformer and a demagogue. Coming under the influence of Dr. Brownson, he became a socialist, and an inmate of a socialist community. But not finding rest there he left it and set out on a search for the truth among the different Christian sects, and believing he had found it in the Roman Church, he was baptised in 1844 by Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) MacCloskey. In the Church of Rome his career proved nearly as restless as it had been before his conversion. He decided to enter the priesthood, and applied himself to the study of Greek and Latin, but was very unsuccessful in these pursuits. In 1845 he entered the Redemptorist order as a novice, and took the vows the following year. He was expelled from the order for going to Rome to interview the general of the order, contrary to the constitution. He, however, used influence to obtain permission to establish a new order of Paulists, composed of some American Redemptorists who gathered around him and were released from their vows. Yankees by birth and intended for work specially in the United States, these new monks deliberately adopted very characteristic American airs. Hecker had always regretted the foreign aspect Catholicism and its preachers had worn in his country, and he himself adopted the custom of wearing his beard according to the American cut. The suspicions of many in his Church were still more deeply stirred by his way of presenting the faith. The varied experiences through which he passed in his youth and

the defects of his ecclesiastical studies, as well as his peculiar temperament, prevented him from adopting in its entirety the archaic and routine type of religion in favour with many of his European co-religionists. They accused him of still showing Protestant ideas. But the taint of Protestantism in his Catholicism was not confined to him. It was characteristic of many American Roman Catholics who could not help carrying something of the atmosphere of American Protestantism into their religious life. He also attracted the attention of many by the stress he laid on the cultivation of the active virtues encouraged by Protestantism, rather than on those of a more passive character on which Romanism has laid the most stress. He protested, too, against the undue suppression of individuality which had characterised the Roman Church in its reaction against what was considered the excessive individualism of Protestantism. He felt that the only hope of a growth of the Roman Catholic Church in a progressive country like the United States was to adapt, as far as is allowed by fidelity to the dogmas of the Church, its method and its teaching to the spirit of the age. It can be seen from this brief sketch of his position that he carried some of his Protestantism into the allegiance he offered to the Church of Rome. What would have been the result, if he had been able to throw the strength of his ardent nature into the effort to realise his ideal in the environment in which he lived it is difficult to say. But he fell ill, and spent the last seventeen years of his life in suffering, dying in December 1888. His work has been continued by the Paulists, the order

he established. They have never been numerous, having in 1897, after forty years from their foundation, only thirty-two priests. Their national aims have failed to attract foreigners, and the religious orders have always had difficulty in recruiting among Americans. Their effort has been directed toward the worthy performance of the ceremonies of the Church, the reform of ecclesiastical music, the raising of the standard of preaching, and the promotion of temperance and of missions to non-Catholics. These missions have not proved specially successful. The importance of Hecker and his Paulists has been less in the results they have themselves accomplished than in the fact that they represent a trend of thought that has made itself felt among the Roman Catholics of the United States. No Church can continue impervious to the social and political atmosphere in which it lives. And consequently American Roman Catholics, if not American Catholicism, have been greatly influenced by the spirit of the free, republican institutions under which they have grown up. Breathing the air of freedom and of an almost aggressive individualism, they could not but carry into their Church relationships the desire to assert themselves which they show so fearlessly in other directions. And even if the Roman ecclesiastics were unwilling to encourage this modern spirit, it became necessary for them to show some sympathy with it, if they desired to retain their hold on their flocks. As this desire to adapt the life of the Church to modern conditions, which has shown itself to some extent in nearly every Roman Catholic country, has been most pronounced in America, it has

naturally derived its name from the Western continent, and is known as "Americanism."

There is no space here to go into details of the struggle that went on for years among the clergy of America between the representatives of this more modern and liberal spirit, and the Jesuits and other reactionaries who considered the foundations of the Church were being undermined. The history of it will be found minutely recorded in Abbé Houtin's careful and well-informed monograph. The names of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and Bishop Spalding have been specially associated with this attempt to reconcile the spirit of Romanism with that of a free, progressive, and democratic people. In their attempt to do so they frequently shut their eyes (must we not say deliberately?) to the facts of history and to the clear teachings of a Church that claims to be infallible. Discreetly forgetting that the Roman Inquisition still exists, and that the Spanish Inquisition received the sanction of the popes, Cardinal Gibbons says: "I detest with all my heart, and I condemn every kind of violence, injustice, and persecution of which the Spanish Inquisition has been guilty. In raising my voice against violence, under pretext of religion, I express not only my own sentiments, but also those of all the Catholic priests in the world, etc." This, if it is sincere, is a vigorous effort to lift the Church out of the slough of the past and reconcile it with a present to which the Inquisition and all that it represents are abhorrent. A similar attempt to get rid of a past that is out of harmony with modern institutions is seen in the words of Bishop Spalding:

“It is vain to try to compromise us Catholics of the nineteenth century with the acts and the words of those of the Middle Ages. We do not believe that the popes have never done wrong. As Cardinal Newman said, we are not forced ‘to defend the politics or the acts of certain popes, either before or after the great revolt which took place in the sixteenth century against their authority.’ If public law in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries permitted them to declare tyrannical princes and emperors to have forfeited their authority, it does not follow that it is permitted to them now. We are Catholics, but we are also men, and although the essential articles of our faith are immutable, we change with a world which changes. Content to submit to their consequences, we accept with a frank sincerity, with a joyful acquiescence, the principles of government of the people by the people for the people.” How he would reconcile this with the *Syllabus* is an interesting question which it is not necessary here to discuss. But the passage is important as testimony to the fact that the modern spirit has to some extent affected the spirit of leading Roman ecclesiastics in America.

The failure of the Roman Catholic Church to imbibe the American spirit, and to take the place in the nation to which its numbers would entitle it, was clearly recognised in the Catholic Congress held in connection with the great Exhibition of 1893. There Miss M. T. Elder,¹ a niece of Archbishop Elder of

¹ Miss Elder's paper is reprinted from the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph* in the *Converted Catholic* of February 1901, from which I quote.

Cincinnati, spoke of the losses sustained by the Church, and reckoned them at twenty millions. "Let us not whine," she said, "about prejudice and intolerance, anti-popery and secret societies. We are too apt to shove the blame off of ourselves, where it belongs, on to some scapegoats. We gain nothing by this. Let us tell the truth to ourselves. Our inferior position—and it certainly is inferior—is owing greatly, chiefly, almost wholly to ourselves. The great men of this nation have been, and are, and will continue to be Protestant. I speak not of wealth, but of brain, of energy, of action, of heart. . . . When I reflect that out of the seventy millions of this nation we number only nine millions, and that out of that nine millions so large a proportion is made up of poor factory hands, poor mill and shop and mine and railroad employees, poor Government clerks, I fail to find material for buncombe or spread-eagle or taffy-giving. And who can look at our past history and feel proud of our present status? Let us consider the presidency, for instance. Have we ever had a Catholic President? Ever come near having one? Ever even had a Catholic candidate? Ever likely to have one? Oh, never! We lack that element from which our worthiest presidents come—a sturdy, intelligent, rural class."

The ideas that gave rise to Americanism were not confined to America. They spread to France and took root there. The ultramontane party in France have always manifested a dislike to the American Republic. It seemed by its success to contradict their theory of the necessity of ecclesiastical and political absolutism. The proclamation of the Immaculate Conception

and the publication of the *Syllabus* were hailed by reactionaries in the Church of Rome as blows dealt against Liberalism in religion and in politics. But the more the popes condemned Liberalism, the more the American Republic, this greatest modern embodiment of religious and civil liberty, seemed to prosper. French Roman Catholics and Royalists have done their utmost to prevent their fellow-countrymen from taking the Western Republic as their model. It was not unnatural that the party in the French Church that aspired after a wider ecclesiastical liberty should endeavour to import American ideals, and should strive to obtain the larger freedom inside the Church which their co-religionists seemed to enjoy. These men took the opportunity of a visit of Archbishop Ireland to Europe to invite him to give a lecture in Paris. Many of the most distinguished laymen and most liberal-minded of the clergy of France were present. So great was the impression made on his audience, that it was resolved that he should address the students and the clergy of Paris. These addresses had the effect of encouraging those who were desirous of carrying out the programme of Lamennais and Montalembert, and of introducing a more liberal and modern spirit into the Roman Church. "Religion as in the United States" became the watchword of this party, and the name "Americanism" was given to this liberal movement. Some ambiguous words of Leo XIII. were taken as encouraging the aspirations after greater spiritual freedom.

The movement received further public expression in the publication in 1894 of a translation of a volume

of addresses and lectures by Archbishop Ireland, and three years later by the translation into French of the life of Hecker, both of which were eagerly received in France. Abbé Charbonnel, a young priest, formerly a teacher in a Jesuit college, who has since seceded from the Church of Rome, undertook heartily the duty of agitating in favour of Americanist views among the priesthood, and had considerable success. This popularity of progressive and American ideas caused great irritation among the ultramontanes in France. They were led by Bishop Turinaz of Nancy, who in a conference at Freiburg denounced the eulogies pronounced on Hecker. He maintained that the individualism of the founder of the Paulists and his theories on the subject of the guidance of souls by the Holy Spirit were more Protestant than Catholic. But in spite of the vigorous opposition they have encountered, the ideas associated with the name "Americanism" have continued to exercise a widespread influence in many directions in France. They have encouraged, if they have not largely caused, the movement among the priests that has led twelve hundred of them to throw up their office and seek work in civil life, or as pastors and evangelists in Protestant Churches. They have strengthened the feeling against ultramontanism which has always been strong in the descendants of the French revolutionists and have helped to reconcile the French people to that separation of Church and State which they have decided to carry out. And in other countries of the European Continent they have fostered those aspirations after a reform in the Church of Rome

that are doing so much to alter the attitude of many Roman Catholics to their Church.

The opposition to Americanism was not confined to such open rebukes as that of Bishop Turinaz and others which might have been quoted. The Jesuits, those permanent defenders of ultramontane orthodoxy, were not idle. At length the blow fell in the form of a letter from Leo XIII. to Cardinal Gibbons, in which Americanism was explicitly condemned. He condemned the view that it was desirable for the purpose of attracting outsiders to put into the background certain elements of doctrine, or to attenuate others in such a way that they would not retain their former meaning. He asserted that the tie that binds the faithful to the Church cannot be relaxed as the Americanists demand. He also condemned various doctrines associated with the name "Americanism," such as the sufficiency of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the greater appropriateness of the natural than of the supernatural virtues to our time, and of the active than of the passive virtues. And in this connection he condemned the depreciation of monastic vows and of the monastic life as unsuited to the spirit of the present day. And finally he rejected the idea that special methods are needed now to attract dissenters into the Church.

As soon as this encyclical *Testem Benevolentiæ* reached America the heads of the Church there hastened to submit and to protest that they had never taught the errors condemned. Archbishop Ireland in his reply assures the Pope that "The whole episcopate of the United States, in their own name and

in the name of their flocks, are ready to repudiate and condemn these errors. We cannot but be indignant that such an injury should be done to our bishops, to our people, to our nation, as to designate by the word "Americanism," as some have done, such errors and extravagances." In France similar submissions followed. Abbé Klein, the translator of Archbishop Ireland's book and one of the most influential leaders of the Americanist movement in France, wrote to the Pope: "If I have ever fallen, without wishing or knowing it, into the errors which your Holiness condemns, I seize with eagerness and gratitude the occasion which presents itself to me of reprobating them all, as I do here with my whole heart, without any kind of exception, reserve, or subtlety, but completely and in the natural sense in which your Holiness has reprobated them, very happy that I am able to shake off injurious suspicions and to profess once more my sentiments of absolute submission to the divine authority of the Church and of its visible head." By the Roman Catholic papers in the United States the condemnation was taken quietly, one of them saying that as Catholicism was growing in the United States and decreasing in Italy, it wished the Roman authorities would occupy themselves, not with this controversy, but in organising a body of missionaries for the conversion of their own peninsula, after the plan indicated by Hecker for the conversion of the New World. It is needless to follow the discussions that followed the decision of the Pope. What might have been expected from the beginning took place. The ultramontanes triumphed. A Church

that claims to be infallible and that has committed itself to mediævalism has no place for proposals intended to adapt it to modern conditions and democratic institutions. The fate of this effort to realise a wider spiritual freedom inside the Church of Rome gives one more proof that Romanism and the faintest aspirations after spiritual liberty cannot coexist.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE DECAY OF ROMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ¹

IN the last chapter I quoted from a paper read by Miss M. T. Elder at the Catholic Congress in Chicago in 1893, in which she acknowledged that the losses of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States amounted to twenty millions. This estimate may at first sight seem extravagant, but when the data on which it is based are examined it is pronounced by many to be an underestimate. In the same paper she says: "And, as the Rev. John R. Slattery (of St. Joseph's College, Baltimore, for coloured students for the priesthood), that truly apostolic priest, observes: 'The most thoughtful among Catholics do not hesitate to compute this loss at twenty millions.'" Let us take another Roman Catholic witness to the extent of these losses. The *New York Sun* (a great paper, which is always most favourably disposed toward everything relating to the Roman Church), in its issue of July 22nd, 1904, said in an editorial article that Bishop McFaul in his address to the Roman Catholic Federation, "in which there are now a million and a half members," expressed

¹ The contents of this chapter are taken largely from the issues of the *Converted Catholic* for the past five years.

the hope that the Catholic vote "would be more equally divided between the two great political parties." And it added:—

"Bishop McFaul referred to another matter of serious importance when he said that 'if all the descendants of our Catholic forefathers had remained true to their faith there would be more than 40,000,000 Catholics in the United States to-day, instead of 15,000,000.'

"This is a higher estimate of our present Roman Catholic population than is warranted by official statistics, but it may not be excessive. However that may be, the immigration from Roman Catholic countries alone since the foundation of the Republic must have been as many, and very much more, if their children born in this country are included. A great part of these foreign Catholics and their descendants must have fallen away from their faith, and the Bishop's estimate that if they had remained loyal our present Catholic population would be forty millions is moderate."

As eleven to twelve millions is probably the utmost extent of the Roman Catholic population of the United States, the losses sustained by the Roman Church there cannot be much less than thirty millions.

But the failure of the Church is seen not only in the number of those who have left her, but in the character of those who have remained true to her. It is said that at least 90 per cent. of the criminals in the prisons of the Republic are Roman Catholics, while the Roman Catholics form only about 14 per cent. of the population. A great majority of the saloon keepers in the

States also belong to that Church. Miss Elder, whom I have already quoted, will be an impartial witness on this point. She is a fervent and aggressive Roman Catholic, and belongs to a family that has always been Catholic. Writing from New Orleans to the *Milwaukee Catholic Citizen*, August 11, 1900, she says: "Are you aware that most of the toughs in our town are Catholics (so-called)? Such is the fact." And then referring to a riot that had recently taken place, she adds: "All the women folk of these rioters are practical (!) Catholics. The rioters themselves have nearly all been to the parochial schools—have nearly all received baptism, penance, eucharist, and confirmation. And yet—*cui bono*! Ready at a moment's provocation to become rioters, plunderers, incendiaries and murderers—and ready at all times to idle, gamble, quarrel, drink and curse. Everybody who knows anything about the Catholic poor in our large cities knows that I do not (indeed that I cannot) exaggerate their viciousness. Sermons, novenas, missions, processions, jubilees, October devotions, masses innumerable, and yet—our Catholic poor a menace to the city!"

Again, the failure of Romanism in the United States is seen not only in the undeniable disproportion of crime and vice among its members, but also in the mental and spiritual paralysis it has produced in its better members. Miss Elder in a letter to the *Milwaukee Catholic Citizen* of November 10th, 1900, compares the enlightenment of Protestants with the backwardness and degeneracy of Roman Catholics in the United States. She says:—

"Understand from the start that I do not blame

anybody—nor condemn anything. I simply state some plain large facts, and then ask the reason ‘why?’ ”

“What have we—United States Catholics—ever originated? I speak, above all, of philanthropy—of new, practical, vital methods. *Wherein do we lead?* ”

“Protestants start the Fresh Air fund. Several years later, we—tag on behind. Protestants start the King’s Daughters. Years later, we—tag on behind. Protestants start the Social Settlement idea. Many years later, we—tag on behind. Protestants start night schools, Sunday schools, and free kindergartens. Several years later, we bring up the rear. Protestant schools (public schools) start the nature study system. After a time, we—follow suit, as usual. Protestants start the Chautauqua lecture course. After due delay, we follow their lead.

“Protestants (and even Hebrews, in some cases) have gotten far ahead of us in organisations like the Y.M.C.A., the country clubs, the chattel loan unions, agricultural institutes, societies for improving the condition of the poor, and other economic and sociological societies. In this very city (New Orleans), with its large Catholic population, there are three Protestant clubs definitely designed to study economic and social questions. How many such clubs have we—Catholics? *Not one!* ”

“Have we, indeed, throughout the whole United States, one such? One Catholic club, that studies the living question of the living hour? I have not heard of it. Is there one lay Catholic in the United States to-day who has standing as an economist?—as an

authority upon social questions?—as a leader of thought upon the labour problems in our land?

“If so be, the Catholic papers seem never to have heard of him. . . . No; our Catholic man is *not* making a brilliant record for himself as an orator, or leader, or prime mover in any line of vital charity. He does not keep pace with Protestants in philanthropic incensiveness. He is incapable.”

This is a terrible indictment coming from the pen of a devoted Roman Catholic, and published in a clerical paper.

How does Rome account for her losses and decay? We cannot do better than quote again from Miss Elder’s paper read at the Catholic Congress at Chicago in 1893.

“Many are the ways of accounting for this terrible loss. Cardinal Gibbons mentions the present strife between capital and labour as one of the causes. Bishop Keane of Washington thinks, with Father Slattery, that a great cause is neglect of the negroes. Father Touhy, of St. Louis, takes very much the same view as Cardinal Gibbons.

“Speaking of the rapid disaffection of the masses from Catholicity in the United States, Father Touhy says: ‘No thinking man of any experience can be blind to the fact that there is to-day a rapidly growing discrimination in the minds of the masses between Christ and the Church.’

“Father Geisen, Redemptorist, and one of the truest and most zealous of priests, whether as pastor or missionary, attributes our loss to the baleful influence of the public schools.

“Father Abbot, a Lazarist, and a much travelled missionary, thinks mixed marriages the chief cause.

“Bishop Keane (of the Catholic University, Washington) says: ‘When we would offer Catholic truth to the Protestant masses, they reply, “Look at your drunkards!”—and that settles it.’

“And there is another, Canon Murane. Listen to his remarks read before the Catholic Truth Conference at Birmingham, England: ‘How can you expect conversions when a Catholic prison chaplain can assert that of six or seven thousand women brought into prison yearly, more than eighty per cent. are Catholics?’

“Now let me ask what use have the American people at large for Catholicity? Not one in six of them is a Catholic, nor is there much in the signs of the times to indicate that they are going to become Catholics. What use have they for our religion? Will they thank us for building big churches and convents? Do you perceive any signs of gratitude for our parochial schools?

“If the drunken neighbourhood is the Catholic neighbourhood; if the drunkards’ names in the police reports are notoriously those of Catholics; if the saloon-goers and the saloonists are Catholics; if the ‘boodlers’ who thrive by saloon politics are Catholics; if the saloon-made paupers and tramps are Catholics, then as a moral force among men, Catholicity is done for in that community; whatever individual good it may do its members, its ‘public force’ for morality is ‘nothing.’ Chrysostom and Bossuet, ay, or Paul and Patrick, could not convert men to such Catholicity; nor can twenty

universities discover a truer test or a fairer one than that the tree shall be known by its fruits.

"Many think it is the liquor evil; others, the anti-Catholic tendency of the Government; others, the influence of pernicious literature; others, the proselytising effect of Protestant charities (?); others attribute the Protestant gains and Catholic losses to the workings of secret societies; others, to the lack of sprightly literature among us; others, to the neglect of congregational singing; and still others to our lack of pulpit zeal and eloquence.

"My explanation differs from all of these and yet includes them all. My explanation is the seemingly far-fetched one of neglect of colonisation and immigration; in other words, neglect of the rural classes."

Is it not strange that Miss Elder, who reads the symptoms so correctly, and the authorities whom she quotes, should not go more thoroughly to the root of the matter and find a cause of the deep-rooted disease that underlies all these causes they enumerate? A story is told of an old priest who was continually scolding his people for their shortcomings. One Sunday some strangers, a Christian man and his friends who were visiting in the neighbourhood, attended mass in that Catholic church, and the old priest was thundering at his people as usual. At the close of the service the gentleman expressed his sympathy with the priest in the difficulty he had in managing so unruly a congregation.

"My heart is broke from them," said the old man. "For twenty years I have been scolding them like

this, and they are not one bit the better for it. They do not mind what I say : they're incorrigible : I do not know what to do with them."

"It is too bad," said the gentleman, "that your efforts should be fruitless and that your ministry should be ineffectual. I suppose you have tried every method you could think of to make them better?"

"Yes, sir," answered the priest. "I have said mass for them every Sunday, and heard their confessions at stated periods, and given them plenty of penances, even to making some of them say the rosary for a month, but it's no use."

"Excuse me for the suggestion," said the gentleman, "but did you ever preach the Gospel to them?"

"What!" cried the priest in amazement mingled with indignation, "would you have me waste the blessed Gospel on the likes of them?"

Where the Church of Rome has failed in America, as well as elsewhere, is that it has neglected to preach the Gospel. As Father Touhy said, the people have learned to discriminate between the Christ and the Church. The Church that preaches itself and not Christ cannot now retain their hearts. The Protestant Churches have presented Christ to the people, and Christ when He is lifted up will draw all men unto Himself.

The European Roman Catholics who emigrate to the United States have been in many cases greatly discontented with the oppression they experienced from their Church at home. That discontent has, consciously or unconsciously, formed part of the impulse that sent them across the ocean to seek

a new home. Even so moderate a writer as Sir Horace Plunket acknowledges that this is so in the case of the Irish peasantry. Discontent with the Church of Rome is well known to be no small part of the cause of the very large emigration of Poles and Bohemians to America. The number of Italians who emigrate to the States is very great, and hatred of the Church of Rome is deeply rooted in their hearts. Germans from the German and Austrian empires cross the Atlantic in large numbers, and however loyal these may seem to be to the Church of Rome when in Europe, the spirit of Luther is never far from the German heart. When these different races land on the shores of America, they at once feel that they are in a different spiritual atmosphere. They are no longer in the leading-strings of the priests. They can think for themselves. They can act on their convictions without the fear that such action will bring them into trouble. They will in numberless cases go to Protestant Churches to hear what the Protestant pastor has to say for his view of things. They thus often hear for the first time in their lives the Gospel of divine grace, and thousands are drawn to Christ. If they are not drawn themselves, they allow their children to go to the Protestant Sunday school, and when these come to years of maturity they join the Protestant Churches in increasing numbers.

Then mixed marriages play an important part. In Roman Catholic countries in Europe, where the priest is a power, these marriages used almost invariably to lead to the loss of the children, and very frequently of the Protestant parent, to Protest-

antism. But in America, where the spirit of freedom has been breathed so long, the loss is generally to the cause of Romanism. The national school also has a wide influence. In those in which the Bible is read, the children learn not to look on the sacred volume with suspicion, and their minds are opened to its liberalising influence. Where it is not read, the pupils are at any rate kept from the benumbing influence of clericalism. Consequently the Roman Catholic Church hates the American school with a bitter hatred, and fights against it with all the weapons of her armoury. And then the acknowledged superiority of the lives of the Protestants to those of the Roman Catholics has its deep effect on the minds of those who have, perhaps for the first time in their lives, come into contact with Protestantism on a large scale. Thus, though not a great deal is done in the way of direct mission work among them, Roman Catholics are brought more and more under the influence of evangelical truth and life. There is hardly a Protestant congregation in the United States in which there are not some converts from Romanism, and in some congregations the number of such converts is very large.

There are a considerable number of Bohemian (Czech) congregations composed of converts from Romanism, ministered to by Czech Protestant ministers. The work among the Italians has been very successful. In October 1900, an Italian Evangelical Alliance was formed at Newark, N.J., at which twenty-seven Italian Protestant ministers were present, all of them converts from the Church of Rome.

The revolt of the Poles in the United States from the domination of Rome has been one of the most striking events in the recent religious history of America. Under the influence of the liberty-loving spirit of their adopted land, the American Poles began to demand the right of the people to share with the clergy the management of the temporal affairs of the Church. This right was refused by the Pope, and they declared themselves independent of Rome, the first congregation to take this step being Holy Trinity, in Chicago, in 1881. Shortly afterwards Anthony Kozlowski, then a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, came to America and laboured among his people in Chicago. Finally, in 1897, the then Father Kozlowski was elected bishop by the portion of the Polish Catholics in America who leaned toward liberty from papal supervision—called the Polish Catholic Independent Church of America. He went to Europe, and was there consecrated at Berne by several prelates of the Old Catholic Church. In the year 1903 he applied for and obtained admission into the American Episcopal Church, bringing with him the whole body over which he presides, numbering 80,000 Church members.

While this movement was progressing in the neighbourhood of Chicago, a similar movement was advancing in Pennsylvania among the Poles in that district, which resulted in the formation of the independent Polish National Church. The first general synod of that Church was held at Scranton, Pa., on the 6th of September, 1904, and its first bishop was elected. There were no fewer than 150 lay delegates

in attendance, besides twenty priests, who came from five states. The Convention opened with a solemn service, the Polish language being used instead of Latin. The sermon was preached by the Rev. A. Plucinski, who sounded the keynote of opposition to the domination of any power over the Church, except that of the Polish people themselves, and said that he and the other priests who thought as he did, repudiated the rule of Rome, and would give the people the right to rule the Church through their representatives. Next morning the Rev. Francis Hodur, of Scranton, was elected bishop. Probably before long time has elapsed these eastern Poles will form some kind of union with the western group.

An encouraging feature of the movement from Rome in America is the large number of priests who have seceded, and are now engaged in Christian work in connection with some of the Protestant Churches. Hundreds of priests have taken this step. This department of the movement will always be specially associated with the name of the Rev. James A. O'Connor. Mr. O'Connor was born in Ireland, and was educated in that country, in France, and in America. He was a devout Roman Catholic, observing scrupulously all the ordinances of his Church. He was ordained a priest in Chicago, and his eyes were soon opened to the unreality, the hideousness of the priestly life. "Throw that thing under the seat of the buggy," said an older priest to him one day, as they were driving to a sick call. The "thing" was the "Blessed Sacrament"—the body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ in the

form of a wafer, the viaticum, which they were carrying to a dying person. Insincerity, duplicity, treachery, greed, he found to be characteristics of the priesthood, not to speak of the grosser vices, yet he continued in the priesthood for eight years, honestly striving to be a good priest and a good man, and zealously administering the sacraments to the people. But he saw that neither he nor his people obtained grace or spiritual life in this way. This set him asking questions which he found it hard to answer. Why were Protestants in general so superior to the Roman Catholics? Why were the Protestant nations so far ahead of the Roman Catholic countries in all that ennoble the human race? Why did God not give grace and virtue with the sacraments which the people received so devoutly? Why did not he himself have any realising sense of union with God, when he confessed his sins and repented and fulfilled all the duties of the priesthood? Such questions and many others were pronounced by his spiritual directors to be temptations of Satan, and he must suppress them. But this he could not believe. Receiving no comfort or light from the Church and its sacraments, he abandoned his priesthood and began to study medicine. During a summer vacation in 1879 he learned for the first time that God loved him, sinner as he was, that He gave His Son to be his Saviour, and that this Saviour was calling him to come to Him for forgiveness. He then resolved that he would give his life to the work of telling this to the Catholics and all others whom he could reach by voice or pen. He founded a mission to Roman

Catholics to which he has given the name "Christ's Mission," and which now has its centre in 142 West 21st Street, New York. Here for upwards of twenty-five years he has carried on most successful mission work, and it is also a home for priests who are dissatisfied with their Church and are seeking light and freedom. Over eighty such have been received by him into the Protestant Church, and a large number have been in contact with him and his work. Here, too, he issues his monthly magazine, *The Converted Catholic*, which has a widespread influence among Catholics in America.

A new element of revolt has recently been introduced into the Roman Catholic Church in America by the Rev. J. J. Crowley, who has published¹ one of the most merciless exposures of the internal condition of the Church that has ever appeared. He accuses the priesthood of that country of widespread dishonesty, greed, impurity, and drunkenness. He claims to represent the views of a considerable number of priests and of the more independent among the laity. His book has produced consternation and anger in the ranks of the clergy.

¹ *The Parochial School a Curse to the Church, a Menace to the Nation.*

CHAPTER XXVII

AMERICA'S NEW DEPENDENCIES

THE conquest of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico by the United States has led to a remarkable religious revolution in all these dependencies, but especially in the Philippines. The real rulers of the Philippines were the friars, and it was against them rather than against the Spanish Government that the rebellion took place, which ultimately led to the intervention of the United States, and the wresting of them from the sovereignty of Spain. During the rebellion a large number of the friars fled to Spain, and when the American Government began to reorganise the administration of the islands it was felt to be necessary to remove the friars if there was to be peace. For this purpose a Commission was sent to Rome to negotiate with the Vatican and arrange an amicable settlement. Though the Pope was probably anxious to come to an arrangement with the Commission, the power of the religious orders at the Vatican was too strong, and he dared not order the friars to retire. The Commission returned without accomplishing the object for which it was appointed, but most of the friars, probably under pressure from Rome, soon withdrew. The fear,

however, of offending the Catholic vote in America prevented the Government from insisting on what it felt to be the wisest course, the absolute withdrawal of the religious orders which had for centuries been an unmitigated curse to the islands over which they had tyrannised.

Their tyranny was not the only part of the record which affected the well-being of the islands. The Commission of Inquiry into the state of the people revealed a condition of corruption and immorality on the part of the friars that would not be believed if it were not testified to by numerous trustworthy witnesses. It was not to be wondered at that there was little belief among the people in a religion of which these men were the principal representatives. When it was found that the friars were not to be entirely expelled, and that the Pope was protecting them, the resentment of the Filipinos was great. It was intensified when it was found that to gratify the American Catholics, American bishops were to be substituted for the Spanish ones whom it was found necessary to withdraw.

The political revolt against the Spanish Government was associated with a religious revolt against the domination of Rome, which came to a head as soon as the victory of the Americans made it possible for those who desired religious liberty to assert themselves. The leader of the religious revolt was a priest named Aglipay. I cannot do better than describe it in his own words, which I quote from an article in the *Converted Catholic*, vol. xx. pp. 341-47.

“In undertaking to describe some features of the religious questions now agitating these islands, I first of all disclaim being the author of this movement. The cause can be explained in one word—friars. The various religious orders that infested the Philippines had entirely forgotten the Gospel and the law of God, and during the latter part of their three centuries’ stay they also defied the law of man. They made and unmade governors by their wealth and power, and were the real rulers. Their thousands of unpunished crimes, including the taking of daughters forcibly from families for lust and having those deported or killed who opposed them, have burned into the souls of the people, who have not forgotten or forgiven. Now the day of reckoning has come, and with the assurance of liberty of conscience we have cast off the oppressive yoke of the friars for ever. This separation from Rome and the Pope is the climax of all the appeals and petitions vainly sent to the Vatican during the past thirty years, by pious Catholic people, to have their real grievances redressed.

“It is an historical fact that on February 17, 1872, three Filipino priests—Burgos, Zamora, and Gomez—were publicly garroted in Manila: the friars had charged them with attempting to stir up an insurrection in Cavite, and demanded that they should be executed, which was done. Back of this is the fact that in 1870 the Secretary of State for Spain, Señor Monet, sent an order to the Philippines that ‘no friar was to be priest of any church, but must confine his efforts to teaching and being a missionary.’ This

was in response to a strong agitation. The friars made this order null by ignoring it. The opposition that had secured this order did not submit, but demanded its enforcement. The Filipino priests were naturally interested in the enforcement of that order, which meant that they would be in charge of all the churches, a position that brought with it recognition from the Spanish Government. When the friars decided that it was necessary to stop the agitation, they selected as victims three prominent Filipino priests, in order to intimidate the others and stamp out the opposition. There have been over a score of our Filipino priests officially murdered, entirely on the false accusation of the Spanish friars, from that beginning until 1896. The scope of this article will not allow one to detail each case, but God has not forgotten them, nor have the outraged Filipino people forgiven the real murderers.

“At this point I state it as my conviction that owing to the marvellous spread of the separation from Rome—not strange to us, but unexpected in Rome, after the false reports sent in by the friars—the Papal Delegate, Guidi, deliberately changed the recently printed papal promise to appoint four Filipino bishops by appointing American bishops in their stead. This was a crafty Jesuit trick, to introduce the ‘ruling nation question’ by making it appear that our opposition is to the Americans instead of to the friar-ruled American bishops. We resent the sending of French, Italian, Hottentot, American, or any other friar-controlled priests to rule us. We have capable Filipino priests of our own, to govern

our Church, and in the same manner as the American Civil Commission recognises the ability of Filipinos to sit on the Supreme Court, to be Governors of provinces, and even Commissioners, we demand recognition, and, having been refused by the Church of the Italian Cardinals, we have established our Filipino Independent Catholic Church.

“If asked concerning the stability of this movement, I answer it has sunk its roots deep; it has been watered by the blood of the martyrs; it has continued under fierce opposition for thirty years, and why should it not continue now under religious liberty? I most positively assert that the rule of the friar is for ever ended in these islands: Amen, Jesus! I am unable to declare positively the form this movement will take. The liberalising influences at work among us make it certain that our religious progress will be upward, largely influenced by the Bible, and will be permanent.

“In view of the deliberately false statements, designedly or mistakenly circulated about me and my motives, I feel justified in setting forth certain facts of my history which might be of public interest. I was born in the pueblo of Batac, in the province of Ilocos Norte, on the 9th of May, 1860. My parents were agriculturists of medium position. My early life was spent without any remarkable incident. After passing through the schools of my native place, I was sent to the College of San Juan de Lateran, in Manila, conducted by the Dominican friars. After graduating in arts and science, I went to the theological seminary in Vigan, which was under the

direction of the Recoleta friars. On completing the course I was ordained priest in Manila, and sang my first mass on New Year's Day, 1890, and served as directed, as assistant parish priest, and then in charge of parishes.

"I took no part in the uprising of 1896 against Spain, under Don Emilio Aguinaldo. I held the confidence of the Filipino people and leaders as a priest of the Catholic Church. I continued my parish work until after Admiral Dewey sank the Spanish fleet on the morning of May 1, 1898, the significance of which was not understood then by anyone. Fifteen days later I was sent for by a messenger from Governor-General Agustine, with a letter from the Archbishop of Manila, then Friar Bernardino Nozaleda calling me to their presence immediately for an important conference. I went; there was unfolded to me in minute details a plan to undertake a mission of great importance. I was to go to the Filipino insurgents, who were co-operating with the American soldiers who had landed at Cavite and had invested Manila on all sides. This siege was continued until Manila was captured by the American and Filipino soldiers on August 13, 1898. I was to offer, in the name of Spain, autonomy, or even independence, to the Filipinos and get them to renounce their allegiance to the American cause, as by their uniting with the Spanish troops the American forces could be prevented from landing on the shores of these islands. The promises made to me as a reward were very flattering by both the Church and the State representatives."

There is not space to quote the description of the way in which Aglipay carried out the trust reposed in him. In the end, when it became evident that the Filipino forces could no longer successfully resist the American troops, Nozaleda and the friars repudiated and denounced Aglipay in order to gain favour with the Americans. He continues :—

“There is no reason for omitting the fact that I did take up arms against America and did lead an armed force, and for several years kept several American regiments unsuccessfully chasing me and my small band of patriots. The love of my country is my only defence. When the last hope of success vanished, I voluntarily came in to Laoag and surrendered to Colonel McCaskey, of the Twentieth Regiment Infantry, the officer commanding, and took the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, and have kept it. The war is past. I have no desire to enlarge on this chapter of my life. In the war records in Washington is my vindication from the groundless charges of cruelty and inhumanity made against me, with no other design but to harm my reputation and sow doubts in the minds of those who do not know the facts.

“I prefer that other pens than mine write of the work thus far accomplished in the National Catholic Church. Its influence extends far beyond my acquaintance, which shows to me that the movement is spontaneous. I have adhesions with several thousand names from provinces I never saw : letters come from remote places. All the newspapers, with the exception of the official organs of the Roman Catholic

Church, are favourable to the movement, and print articles, correspondence, my pastoral letters, and their views on the religious situation, all anti-friar. My own official paper, *La Verdad* (The Truth), reached a circulation of 10,000 copies per week, spreading information. My priests have travelled extensively. I have more invitations than ten men can fill. The interest is widespread, and has been intensified by Papal Delegate Guidi deliberately changing the promise in the new papal constitution, granting four Filipino bishops. It has had the effect of creating a new division in what was left to the Roman Catholic Church. In Ilocos Sur a year ago six priests came out of Rome and joined the Independent Catholic Church. The remaining twenty priests decided to wait for developments. They have now held an assembly, and in a united body left the Church of Rome. The same has recently happened in the island of Panay. Fifteen priests declared for our Church, and now the remaining forty-five Roman Catholic priests have, as a consequence of this new deception on Papal Delegate Guidi's part, left the Roman Church. Some of these forty-five will probably join the Protestant Church, as the preachers of the Baptist faith have great influence on Panay Island. It is very clear that there is a universal agitation, caused by the fear that the friars will stay, and that American bishops will come to aid the friars. It is my opinion that when the American bishops really land, the opposition to Rome and the Pope will increase.

"I have thus far consecrated ten bishops. One of these, Bishop José Evangelista, who has charge

of Manila, directs a theological seminary. He has ordained fifty-eight young men to the priesthood—presbyters, deacons, and to the minor orders. By Bishop Pedro Brillantes, who is in charge of Ilocos Norte, where with one exception all the parish churches and convents and priests and all the people are of the Independent Catholic Church, eighteen were ordained, and another class is being prepared. Bishop Adriano Garces, of Pangasinan, has charge of the theological seminary at Dagunau. He has a class nearly ready for ordination. Some of his candidates were included with those ordained by Bishop José Evangelista. We have more requests to send priests than we can supply, but are doing the best possible under the circumstances.”

Gregorio Aglipay, the writer of the article from which I have quoted, has been elected Archbishop of the National Church. “He and his followers claim practically all the churches in the Philippines. Their plea is that they were built by public funds ‘for the religious use of the Filipino people,’ or else by the contributions of the Filipino people themselves, or under compulsion, and that their use is to be settled by an appeal to the people. As no congregation can show a title to the property, the American courts have dismissed any case which was entered into by the Roman Catholics for possession of a church building held by the National Church.

“The movement has gone forward with astonishing rapidity. Aglipay in 1903 claimed three million adherents. The movement has become formidable. City after city and province after province have

declared with much emphasis that they are for Aglipay, and for freedom from the Pope and all those whom he appoints.

“Aglipay has from the first showed himself a moderate man, measurably open to the truth, and has continued from the first day until now to surround himself with advisers from among Protestants as well as liberal Roman Catholics. The official editor of the organ of the movement, *La Verdad*, is a Methodist local preacher, Mr. A. W. Prautch.”¹

It is interesting to note, as showing something of the character of the movement, how this new Church dealt with the question of the ordination of its first bishops.² There was some talk of asking the Greek Church to extend its protection to the Philippines, or of having the new bishops go to be ordained by Greek or Russian bishops, as well as of making application to the Anglican or other Protestant bishops of the Orient; but this was rejected as being merely the “seeking of new masters” after having declared freedom from Rome. Hence it was announced that the first appointees as bishops in the province could gather together the priests of their districts, to the number of twelve, or in their default, that three presbyters would serve to make the ordination valid. These were the reasons given:—(1) The apostles did not prescribe any ritual for this consecration, the will of the particular congregation sufficing of itself; (2) none of the apostles nor of their immediate successors was consecrated as

¹ Rev. Homer C. Stuntz, D.D., in *Converted Catholic*, vol. xx. pp. 205-6.

² *Converted Catholic*, vol. xxi. pp. 146-48.

bishop, and the same is true of the Protestant and schismatic prelates, in the beginning; (3) the presbyters are as completely priests as are the bishops, many authors maintaining that bishop and presbyter mean the same thing (hence, if in case of necessity, a layman can administer the first sacrament, that of baptism, certainly, in like case of necessity, a presbyter can administer the sixth, that of ordination). They have thus avoided entanglement in the enslaving dogma of apostolic succession.

They have put aside the worship of Mary and the saints. The reading of the Bible is urged as the best book of devotion, instead of those to which they had been accustomed. Prayers are to be said in the local dialect, they are to be short and simple. The church organisation is made elective, and safeguards have been introduced against abuse of power. There is evidently a great future before this Church as an evangelical force in the East.¹

To Cuba the expulsion of the Spanish rule brought new spiritual liberty and hope. There the long domination of Spain and of the Church of Rome had led to

¹ The Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1903 says: "We are, in the Philippines, in the unusual position of being far behind the demands of the people for the Word of God. Nearly four centuries of Roman Catholic rule have made them more or less familiar with a good deal of sacred history, and they are naturally curious and anxious to have the book in which the history may be read. This is quite apart from any desire to leave the Roman Church. Before the Tagalog New Testament could be put into their hands, the people were asking for the whole Bible, often with references as well. Thus it became necessary to push on with the Old Testament." A thirst for the Bible is a good omen for the future of this movement.

the same results as in the other Spanish colonies, ignorance, superstition, unbelief, caused by the degradation of the representatives of that Church. When the island came under American rule, the various Churches of the United States entered at once on mission work, and the result has been most encouraging. In the middle of 1903 there were no fewer than twelve different Protestant bodies at work, with Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians leading. There were then on the island 92 Protestant churches and preaching stations, and 137 Protestant missionaries, not a few of them native Cubans. Protestant membership actually enrolled was 2500, and there were 17 native candidates for the ministry. There were 51 church schools, and they and the missions were to be found in all of the six provinces. The completion of the railroad throughout the length of the island has produced new results in Protestant propaganda.

In Puerto Rico also there has been remarkable progress of Protestantism since the island came under American rule. The Rev. A. Lambert, a converted priest, has had great success in his work in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the beginning of the year 1905, he reported in his circuit 153 members, 225 probationers, 77 juniors, 45 candidates for probation, and some 50 adherents at seven stations, and all these, with the exception of three, were former Roman Catholics.

In the republics of Central and South America, in which the influence of the social, political, and religious ideals of the United States is felt to a constantly increasing extent, there is a growing determina-

tion to break loose from the bonds of Rome, and in them successful mission work is carried on, chiefly by agents of the various Protestant Churches of the United States. Among the Italians of South America excellent work is done by the Waldensians. But no space remains to go into details of these hopeful fields.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONCLUSION

IN bringing this volume to an end, may I not say with confidence that the facts presented in the foregoing chapters justify the title: *The New Reformation?* The past half-century has witnessed a forward movement of Protestantism. There is now no longer any doubt as to the predominance of the Protestant powers in the political influences of the world. Its intellectual progress has in recent times been mainly in their hands. Their relative numerical strength has been rapidly growing. And now the spirit of Protestantism is beginning to invade Roman Catholic countries. The more the Papacy asserts its claims, the more these claims are disregarded by its adherents. And in nearly every Roman Catholic country in the world there are more or less numerous congregations mainly or entirely composed of those who were but recently members of the Roman Catholic Church, but are now Protestants. The Roman Catholic Church has nothing to put over against this striking fact. There is nowhere in the world a Roman Catholic congregation whose members were recently Protestants. The Church of Rome is being compelled to put forth all the energy of her marvellous organisation to protect her people from

Protestant influences, and these efforts are everywhere proving ineffective. Some of the movements I have been describing are the result of earnest missionary work, some have been spontaneous revolts from a tyranny that could be no longer endured. It may be said that the progress in some cases has been so slow that it will be an inconceivably long time before anything that can be called a real Reformation will be accomplished in these countries. That is so, if we are compelled to believe that the progress will continue at the same rate. But the suddenness of some of these movements and the rapidity with which they have grown shows that we are not justified in this assumption. When confidence is established, and prejudices are broken down, we may look for greater advances than have yet been achieved. Spiritual movements are generally slow at first, and then rapid when the first hesitation has been overcome. The important factor to be kept in sight (and it is scarcely yet realised by the Protestant Churches) is that this revival of Protestantism, this aggressive spirit, this encroachment of Protestantism on Romanism, is a new factor in the religious history of the world since the first energy of the Reformation of the sixteenth century exhausted itself in religious wars and theological controversies and the elaboration of a Protestant scholasticism. Once more the human soul is waking up and clothing itself with strength, and one of the first enemies with which it will have to deal is the spiritual despotism of Rome.

We must also remember that this reawakening of Protestantism is part of the great human awakening that has shown itself in the political sphere in the growth

of freedom which has gone on more or less steadily during the last half-century, and which has shown itself also in the scientific progress which the same period has witnessed. Political, scientific, and religious liberty have their bitterest opponent in the Papacy. It is impossible to foresee which form the revolt will take in any given place. But whichever form it takes, it necessitates sooner or later a revolt from Rome. In France, the aspiration after mental freedom is waking in the minds of thousands of priests, and is driving them out of their Church. In other countries political freedom is leading men to break the same chains. The important point is that we must not expect the influences and motives that lead men from Rome to Protestantism to be unmixed. Human nature is complicated, and so, generally, are the motives under which it acts.

But while making all due allowance for the variety of motives that lead men to turn their backs on the Church of Rome, an honest consideration of the facts presented in the preceding chapters will drive us to the conclusion that the movements have been, in the main, parts of a great spiritual movement of which there are other manifestations. Some of these manifestations are to be seen in the remarkable series of evangelical revivals which have been witnessed in nearly all the Protestant Churches of the world during the last century. I hope to give an account of these in a subsequent volume. I merely point to them now to show that the movements of which this book has given a hasty sketch may be looked on as hopeful, not only from the evidences of vitality

they themselves present, but because they are a part of a much greater movement which is embracing the whole Christian world and is leading everywhere to greater spiritual freedom.

A survey of the field we have been travelling over shows us that anti-clericalism, while in itself to be welcomed as preparing the mind to receive truths to which it had been previously closed, does not necessarily lead to Protestantism. Roman Catholic countries have repeatedly been intensely anti-clerical and have afterwards lapsed into allegiance to the Papacy. If anti-clericalism made a country Protestant, Italy would now be the most Protestant country in the world. In no country is the Church of Rome so carefully watched and its power limited so completely by effective legal enactments. Spain at the present moment is seething with bitter anti-clericalism. But there is a new factor in the situation now that was absent when these countries were formerly under the influence of a similar wave of anti-clerical feeling. Protestantism is now a living and a missionary force to an extent it never was before, and even when not adopted it is now respected as it never was before. So that while on our guard against putting an excessive value on the present-day protests against the power and tyranny of the Church and the priest, we are justified in welcoming all such proofs of dissatisfaction.

Another lesson which must be learned from a study of the old and the new reformations is that the power of Rome will not be overthrown by the substitution of a Protestant for a Roman scholasticism. While

the Reformers preached Christ with the power that came from a living experience of Him in their hearts, they won men. When they turned aside to elaborate a scholastic system that would rival that of Aquinas, they were shorn of their strength. Elaborate "Bodies of Divinity" are not the weapons by which men's hearts are to be conquered. The age is one that is impatient of theory and speculation, and longs for the foundation of facts on which to build. And the Church that bases its message on the facts of a real spiritual experience has the future in its hands.

The constitution of the Protestant Churches, if they are to win a permanent victory over the Church of Rome, must be democratic and elastic. We cannot rival the perfection and elaboration of the constitution of the papal Church. It has been the work of ages, in the production of which the keenest ecclesiastical minds have been engaged. But the age that desires simplicity of doctrine, desires simplicity in church organisation, and not only simplicity, but also adaptability to circumstances. We see this in those Churches that have come out from Rome. Having left behind them a Church bound hand and foot in form and ecclesiasticism, they reject anything that looks like a return to the tyranny from which they have escaped. The Church that keeps itself in closest touch with its members, and allows them to take their part in the management of their church affairs, while arranging that all shall be done in an orderly way, will attract the heart of the new convert. But a man will not leave a venerable clericalism to enslave himself afresh to another clericalism. It is believed by some of those

who know the condition of France most intimately, that many Frenchmen who have lost their faith in Rome are hindered from joining the Protestant Churches by the fear that it would be only to exchange one clericalism for another. Clericalism is of the essence of Romanism, and must be exorcised from Protestantism before Protestantism can put on its full strength.

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